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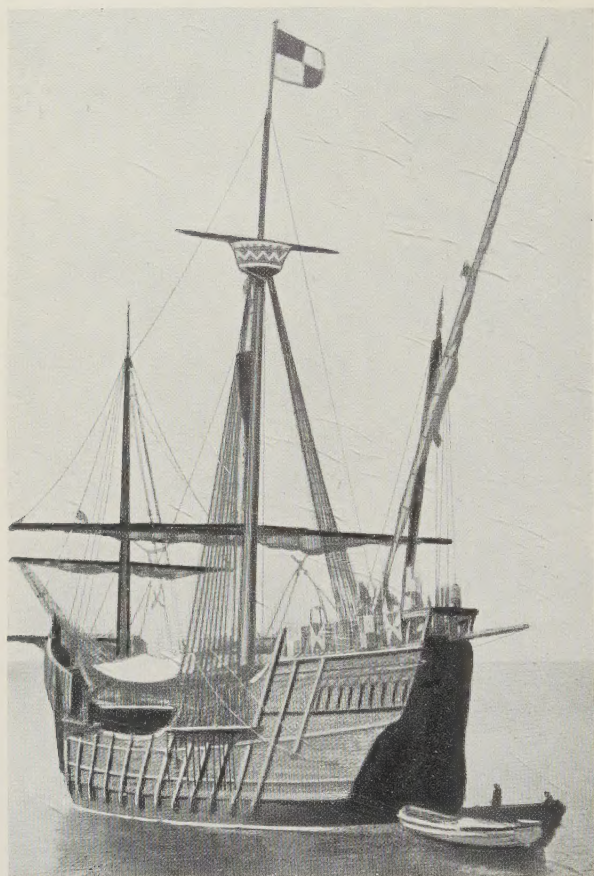
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THE SANTA MARIA, OR CAPITANA
FROM A MODEL PUBLISHED BY
ANTON DEL OLMET
MARQUÉS DE DOSFUENTES

AMERICA

THE TRUE HISTORY OF ITS DISCOVERY

BY

WILLIAM GILES NASH, F.R.C.I.

Author of

The Rio Tinto Mine :
Its History & Romance

LONDON

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DEDICATED TO
ALL THOSE MEN & WOMEN

THE CREDIT FOR WHOSE
ACHIEVEMENTS HAS
BEEN GIVEN TO OTHERS
TO WHOM IT WAS NOT
DUE

APOLOGIA

IT is with genuine diffidence that the writer has elected to publish these very valuable records, existing at present only in Spain. No translation of them into our language has hitherto been made, and even this effort is very incomplete.

As a literary task it manifestly should have been undertaken by a much more competent writer ; but, on considering the substantial interest of the subject, it seems of sufficient importance in itself to be placed on record even in this imperfect form, as it certainly brings to light much curious history. He has therefore determined upon its publication.

The reader will, he sincerely trusts, generously overlook the many defects and errors committed in its compilation, and admit some justification for the effort, and thus condone the failure to make it the success the subject itself deserves.

P R E F A C E

THE author of this compilation desires to explain to the reader that he has been induced to write this critical "history" by his having read, in that of the Inca Garcí Laso de la Vega, the *Comentarios Reales de las Incas*, etc. (vol. i. p. 3, cap. 3, Madrid, 1723*), the very singular record contained therein, which one cannot find published *in extenso* in our own language. He ventures to reproduce it *verbatim et seriatim* in the original Spanish, as well as a translation of the more material part of it, for the particular interest, information and enjoyment—possibly, he trusts—of those who are so fortunate as to be sufficiently well acquainted with that language, and who probably have never had access to the Inca's curious and interesting work on Peru, his native land. He was a contemporary of the event under study.

Amongst other Spanish chronologers, it has been reproduced—but in part only—by Fernando Pizarro de Orellano (c. 1620); Juan Agustín de Mora (c. 1761); the famous Joseph de Acosta (1596); Rodrigo Caro (1634); and by the great Oriental scholar Bernardo de Aldrete (1614).

The work of the Inca referred to, and the adventure of Alonso Sánchez, the Pilot of Huelva, do not seem seriously to have occupied the attention and due consideration of our own biographers. The *Encyclopædia Britannica* (9th Edit., vol. vi. p. 176), whilst citing a long list of authors on the subject of "Columbus," omits mention of some of the authorities just quoted. But what did, apparently, occupy the attention of the compiler of that article was the original or a translation or epitome—probably Irving's—of the alleged spurious work—a marvel of childish rubbish according to a Spanish writer—ascribed to the illegitimate son of

* See Appendix 1.

PREFACE

Cristobal Colón, or Christopher Columbus, the pseudo Genovese, which was ostensibly so fully made use of by Washington Irving, the American writer (c. 1830), almost—one may perhaps be allowed to say—*ad nauseam*.

Reference is made hereinafter to the probable origin and authorship of that very singular literary effort.

Irving (*Life of Columbus*, p. 25, London, 1890) makes the following somewhat crude allusion to this adventure of the Pilot of Huelva—Alonso Sanchez; apparently he was not persuaded of the importance of the work of the Inca, Garci Laso de la Vega. He observes: "Amongst those was an idle tale of a tempest-tossed Pilot, said to have died in his (Colón's) house, bequeathing him written accounts of an unknown land in the West, upon which he had been driven by adverse winds. . . . It circulated for a time in idle rumour" (it is still "circulating," and will ever continue to do so—at any rate in Spain!), "altered and shaped to suit their purposes" (more or less a libel!) "by such as sought to tarnish the glory of Columbus" (or whoever he was). "At length it found its way into print, and has been echoed by various historians, varying with every narration, and full of contradictions and impossibilities."

This reputed spurious work, alleged to have been wrongly ascribed to Fernando Colón, formed, apparently, the principal basis of Irving's rather curious criticism and condemnation. Irving also had access to the much more respectable and authoritative one of the distinguished Academician, Martin Fernandez de Navarrete. But even then, unfortunately for the American, the quotations of Fernandez from some of the documents contained in the wonderful "Archivo de las Indias," of Sevilla, are not altogether free from error, and, too, were more or less incomplete.

By way of illustrating the style of Irving, let us consider a sentence of his from the same work cited (p. 26): "There is a certain meddlesome spirit which

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in the garb of learned research goes prying about the traces of history, casting down its monuments, and marring and mutilating its fairest trophies. Care should be taken to vindicate great names from such pernicious erudition"! And also—one may reasonably add—the *small names* such as Alonso* Sanchez, Martin Alonso Pinzón, and the learned Inca, Garci Laso de la Vega!

Again, the excellent American writer is silent as to certain very marked peculiarities of the alleged letters of the Italian, Toscanelli; in especial, as to *their date*, which he gives as of the year 1474, and in styling Colón as the Admiral. He writes: "The correspondence" (*op. cit.* c. vi. p. 26) "with the learned Toscanelli, of Florence, which took place in the summer of that year" (1474!!)

Now, in a copy of this remarkable effusion ascribed wrongly to Fernando Colón, called *Historia del Almirante Don Cristobal Colón* (Madrid, 1892), at the end of the first of the two letters cited (p. 39), we have it:

"Florençia, 25 de Junio 1574"!

So much for the erudite American, Washington Irving!

But that excellent literary authority should not be dismissed from consideration without attention being called to the narrative of his visit to the town of Palos (*op. cit.* p. 913). The writer has known the place and its folk for some thirty-eight years. Irving mentions the Pinzón family, in particular Don Juan Fernandez Pinzón. As far as can be ascertained, no such person ever lived at Palos! The writer had the distinguished pleasure of knowing personally the two sons, Luis and Pedro, of the gentleman he really met, Juan Hernandez Pinzón.

In 1890 Don Luis Hernandez Pinzón, the lad Irving saw at Palos, was still alive and very active. He took a prominent part, naturally, in the festivities then held at

* Irving insists on spelling it Alonzo, erroneously; as he also does the family of Pinzón he visited—Hernandez Pinzon, not Fernandez.

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the famous Convent or Monastery of "La Rábida," near to Palos, and at Huelva, on the occasion of the celebration of the Fourth Centenary of the Discovery—of America. In the course of conversations with them at other dates neither of them seemed to have any recollection of the visit of the distinguished American author Irving, to Moguer, Palos, etc., and in 1828 they were respectively eighteen and sixteen years of age.

As the Admiral said to me : "*Pedro, no me recuerdo de tal visita à nuestra casa de tal Yanki*" !

Irving's description of those places is not at all correct. Whilst Moguer has certainly changed to some extent in recent years, Palos has altered but little since 1828, at any rate when the writer saw it early in 1885, although the Monastery has been reconstructed.

To resume : To quote the simple yet meaning account given by a locally little known authority (de Mora, *Huelva Ilustrada*, Sevilla, 1762) : " Nothing has made the city of Huelva more memorable than the glory of its having been the birthplace of one who, before Cristobal Colón, was the first to discover, to Europeans, the Occidental Indies."

The reference is to the Pilot, Alonso Sanchez de Huelva.

But before quitting Irving and his curious reiteration of the statements ascribed to Fernando Colón, apparently his main authority in this matter, and again reproduced in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, let us consider the very illuminating and instructive remarks of a later and very competent authority, the Academician, Fernandez Duro, about such authorities as Las Casas, Muñoz, and Fernandez de Navarrete, also extensively cited by the American, Irving.

Fernandez Duro says : " Of the parts of the ' autos,' or legal processes, known to him, Las Casas made an epitome (*op. cit.* lib. ii. cap. 47-49), noting that in the proofs of the Fiscal of the Crown they made many very impertinent questions—quite beyond the limits of reason and justice—to obfuscate and cloud the greatest

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work made by any man in thousands of years, of so manifest and universal interest and character (*op. cit.* lib. i. cap. 34); and also observed or noted the more essential of the *Declaraciones del Consejo de las Indias*, given variously at Coruña, Sevilla, Burgos, and Madrid, between the years 1508 and 1524. Very much later the 'Cronista de las Indias,' Juan Bautista Muñoz, obtained *extracts* from the more interesting of the Declarations made by the witnesses—*extracts* which, amplified with others, more casual, made by Jose de la Higuera y Lara, in 1826 and 1827—*served as the base* and groundwork of the *Colecciones* published by Martin Fernandez de Navarrete, and wherein they appear illustrated and explained with notes, observations, and commentaries" (*Coleccion de Viajes y Descubrimientos*, Madrid, 1825-37, vol. 3, pp. 538-615); but, as the Padre Las Casas concluded his work *before the litigation had terminated*, and both Muñoz and Fernandez de Navarrete had no notice, apparently, of the various incidents, appeals, and reappeals originated at the instance of and by the 'Vice-Queen,' Doña Maria de Toledo, in the name and on behalf of her son—a minor—Don Luis Colón, nor of those which this latter, later, personally instituted against the Crown, the public knowledge of the matter is necessarily quite incomplete—the *principal documents having remained archived and unpublished*—because *in them* is contained and condensed the entire proceedings."

"*In them* are cleared up some of the obscure points in the history of the life of the First Admiral and of his companions in the very famous undertaking of the finding of the New World; *in them* declare persons whose illustrious names are engraved in the most glorious pages of our Nation's history; *in them* should be sought for—and have now been—dates and facts which resolve and determine many questions, and in especial that set up by Soto" (alluding to the question raised by him whether Colón ever actually disembarked on the mainland of America).

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“ With that object have been brought from the ‘ Archivo de las Indias ’ of Sevilla, to Madrid, the various documents edited and unedited, which have now enabled me to bring to light so much very valuable and unknown important History—real and decisive.”

Irving’s references to these remarkable records are just as casual, incomplete, and inaccurate as those of Fernandez de Navarrete’s. They made the mistake of many writers when making quotations—doing so neither correctly nor sufficiently—the fatal *suppressio veri*, even though they may not have actually committed themselves to a *suggestio falsi* !

The author of this work trusts that he has managed to avoid such unfortunate errors ; and further hopes that, in spite of the quantity of literature already devoted to the case of “ *Columbus* ” (*vide* the list given in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*), the reader will admit that there exists some reason for this effort. He holds no brief for the appellants or case of Alonso Sanchez and Martin Alonso Pinzón, and is not at all prejudiced in their favour ; but firmly believes that on the evidence adduced, *in extenso*, and still extant, there is sufficient room for the full admission, reception, and establishment of the case of the Pilot of Huelva, Alonso Sanchez, and Martin Alonso Pinzón, in our literature, to make it still more complete. As appears by the evidence, several members of the crews swore on oath that Martin Alonso Pinzón actually discovered land a day before Colón !

Finally, it seems to the writer also that the matter of the Discovery by Cristobal Colón, or whoever he was, was a simple one. After all, he always alleged and persistently maintained for many years, in Portugal and elsewhere, that he was in possession of some precise data and facts as to the existence, route, and whereabouts of an unknown New World. As to who he really was, according to official account he was a Genovese married to a Portuguese, who until about 1490 had never lived in Spain, and left no papers or records in his native language !

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Apparently he never had sufficient candour to disclose his authority, the unfortunate Pilot of Huelva, Alonso Sanchez, whom he had seen buried at the Azores ; and quite naturally Spaniards and others, like the writer, strongly object to the pompous title of “ Discoverer of the New World ” of America being so generously and exclusively allocated to a reputed Genovese—in any case, to them a foreign adventurer of unknown antecedents—even to his children ; whilst the Mariners of Huelva and Palos, Alonso Sanchez and the greater Martin Alonso Pinzón, were—and are, although much better entitled to it—not so intimately and officially associated with the Discovery as, on the facts of the case, they manifestly should be.

This publication seems to be considerably assisted and even justified by the contents of the recently published official version of the Italian case, the voluminous *Raccolta Columbina*, to which more particular reference is made later on.

The case for the Spaniard is :

Audi alteram partem.

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AMERICA

SANCHEZ, COLON AND PINZON

AND

“THE DISCOVERY *of the* NEW WORLD
BY CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS”

AMONGST the many curious, if not somewhat incongruous traditions and myths extant and adopted by the Anglo-Saxon world of letters as facts during the last century has been that of the “Discovery of the New World by Christopher Columbus,” a reputed Genovese.

And whilst, in spite of what is didactically laid down in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* (vol. vi. p. 171, 9th Edit.), there still exist some reasonable doubts as to his identity and, consequently, his nationality, there also prevail more serious ones as to his being entitled to the very considerable honour of being styled and recorded as the “Discoverer of America”—it is hardly necessary here to go into the question of its having been known to the Ancients, from Europe, much before the Christian Era.

What is generally claimed for him by the Spanish authors of the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries A.D. is, that *from a certain good source* he knew, or had been more or less accurately informed, of its whereabouts.

That, certainly, is quite a reasonable proposition, and

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represents, probably, what Colón himself claimed to the Courts of Portugal and of Spain.

It is quite true that there can be identified both the country called America—the New World—and the person named Christopher Columbus, or Cristobal Colón ; but it is not quite so easy to connect that person with its “ Discovery ” : on the contrary, in view of the records it is now proposed to set down for consideration, it cannot well be done !

We will, then, deal with America in relation to that person who has been so generally reputed to be, by the Anglo-Saxon world—and at such fantastic cost !—its “ Discoverer ” ! We say cost, because during the last thirty years or so has been perpetrated, particularly in the United States of North America, and also in Spain and elsewhere, the rather silly process or practice of spending money, chiefly by public subscription, and in the form of elaborate monument, in honour of this reputed Discoverer of the country named after an Italian—America.

Many public monuments in marble and stone have been erected in public places, many hundreds of thousands of pounds sterling have been spent—wasted ?—in the commemoration of an event—a circumstance—which never happened as far as Christopher Columbus, or rather Cristobal Colón, was concerned !

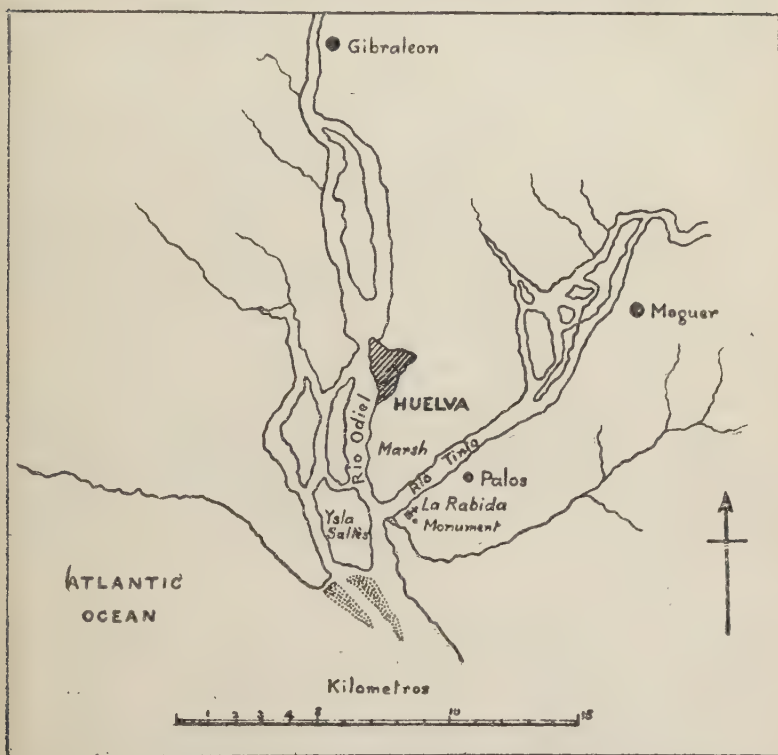
Amongst them is the rather imposing marble obelisk standing in a very commanding position on some high ground adjacent to and above the famous Monastery of Santa Maria de la Rábida, which is situated at the junction of the notorious river Tinto with the river Odiel quite close to the town of Palos, and only divided by a marsh from the city of Huelva, as the sketch shows.

It was from this same port of Palos that the ever-famous Expedition of Discovery set sail under the official Captaincy of Cristobal Colón in vessels with crews furnished by Martin Alonso Pinzón, of that place, on Friday, the 3rd of August, 1492, and to

COLUMBUS' VISIT TO SPAIN

which the remains of it returned, successful, nine months later.

Now what brought Colón to this particular part of Spain can be well understood from the moment it is demonstrated that his visit was not a pleasure trip, nor an accident, but because *he knew* that in this town of Palos, and in its neighbourhood,



lived, not only a near relative of his own, but also the people who had known and had been companions of the man who had told and demonstrated to him in his own home at Porto Santo in the Madeiras, in 1484, where and how had been found this New World in that same year—Alonso Sanchez, the Pilot of Huelva; and who would be able, being expert mariners of the Atlantic,

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to assist him very greatly in his project to go over the course to the Indies a few years previously covered by that unfortunate party.

The argument of this case is, then, that this same Alonso Sanchez of Huelva, and not Cristobal Colón, was the actual Discoverer of America, as far as modern times are concerned.

The relative of Cristobal Colón alluded to, a man named Pedro de Correa, or Muliar, his brother-in-law, at that time (1492) lived at the seaport of Huelva ; and in the opinion of many, including Fernández de Navarrete,* Colón went to Huelva—Palos—for the purpose of conferring with his brother-in-law about what he had been told and shown by Alonso Sanchez, and as to the making of a voyage of re-discovery on that information.

A native of Palos, a “fisico,” or doctor, who went with the expedition of 1492 on board the “carabela” *Pinta*, testified on oath “that Colón went to Huelva to see his brother-in-law.” The *Pinta* was commanded by its owner, Martin Alonso Pinzón, the man to whom Colón was entirely indebted for the means and the success of this voyage of discovery. Garcia Fernandez was also one of the many reliable witnesses who gave important testimony in the lawsuits afterwards instituted by the heirs of Cristobal Colón against the Crown.

Further emphatic testimony as to this matter of his reasons for going to Palos—which is practically Huelva—is given hereinafter.

There is now extant, and will be brought to notice and carefully examined, ample evidence and proofs—credible, honest, and competent testimony, taken between the years 1512–1536 by Tribunals of Justice—that the *Actual Discoverer* of the Western Indies, and so, of America, was a master-mariner of the Port of Huelva named Alonso Sanchez ; and that the person

* Generally, in English, incorrectly referred to as “Navarrete” ; that was his mother’s name, his father’s Fernandez.

SANCHEZ AND DE VELASCO

who was really instrumental, after him, in enabling Cristobal Colón, or Christopher Columbus, to make the voyage at all was Martin Alonso Pinzón, of Palos.

What probably happened was that Colón was informed by Alonso Sanchez of the likelihood of obtaining necessary and powerful assistance from the notoriously well-to-do family of Pinzón, of Palos, near to Huelva, the head of which was Martin Alonso Pinzón, who was generally esteemed to be a very considerable and expert navigator. His operations had extended from the Azores, in the West, to Italy, in the Mediterranean ; and Colón's going to Palos and Huelva was, no doubt, further induced by the idea of leaving his son Diego—then a lad of nine years of age—with his relative, Pedro de Correa, at Huelva.

A simple explanation—probably the real one.

There also existed the circumstance that at Palos—which is situated at the confluence of the rivers Tinto and Odiel—there then also lived, amongst other seamen, an expert mariner named Pedro Velazquez de la Frontera, who had been in the service of the famous Prince Henry, the Navigator, and who had, before the time of Colón's visit to Palos, formed one of the expedition which reached westwards as far as the "Sea of Sargazo." This expedition formed a topic of conversation amongst the mariners of Palos and Huelva in those days, ports which were then—as now—much frequented by Portuguese sailors accustomed to trade between the mainland and the Azores and the Canary Islands.

There also lived at Palos one Pedro de Velasco, who had voyaged to the Isle of Flores, the most westerly island of the Azores, where exist the ruins of a Phœnician colony, and from which place to the Sargazo Sea was but a short distance. After all, there was not very much to be traversed to reach the Indies and—America !

There can be no doubt but that Colón had been fully informed by the unfortunate Alonso Sanchez of the

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names of these, and of other mariners who had been accustomed to navigate between Palos-Huelva and the Western Isles, and who would be essential to him, in knowledge and means, in a voyage of "discovery."

And now let us deal more particularly with this master-mariner of Huelva, Alonso Sanchez, the man who gave the lead to Colón, or Columbus, to enable him to make his famous voyage of "discovery" of A.D. 1492.

En passant, it may be observed that certain ruins in Mexico are disclosing evidence that that part of America was known to the Chinese, or other Oriental race, 1,000 years before the time of Colón!

However, the worthy Cristobal has not been allowed to remain with the pompous title of "Discoverer of the New World" without some amount of reasonable and well-founded protest, although that matter has not sufficiently occupied its deserved position in late literature as regards, at any rate, the case of the Huelva pilot. It has generally been treated with indifference—even contempt and ridicule—in Spain! excepting always the excellent efforts, in our day, of Fernandez Duro and of Anton del Olmet, Marqués de Dosfuentes. Vignaud fails to treat closely of this matter, as he only lightly makes reference to "the nebulous pilot" who had seen the Western Indies some years previous to the more famous Colón, or Christopher Columbus.

It follows, naturally, that to believe in Alonso Sanchez and Martin Alonso Pinzón is to condemn Cristobal Colón.

Curious and certain it was that Colón ultimately went to Spain and not to Portugal—the home of his wife's people, where he himself had also lived—to find the men and means with which to organise his expedition of discovery; undoubtedly armed with some certain information, serious and of practical use, he there sought for assistance in what to him, then, if he were a "Genovese," was a strange country, to take advantage of *the special knowledge he alleged that he possessed*, to

THE TOSCANELLI CHART

make a re-discovery of the mysterious Unknown World in the West beyond the already settled Azores.

If not so, then from whence did he obtain—if not from Alonso Sanchez—the positive information he stoutly proclaimed and maintained to the Spanish Court that he possessed? From the “Toscanelli” Chart? No; *that* he obtained eight years later, in 1492, from Martin Alonso Pinzón; the Huelva pilot Sanchez died in his house at Porto Santo in 1484! Again, his exile and long residence at the Azores certainly did not permit of his easily obtaining any detailed and useful information in a general way; and even if he had access to the classic authors they could not afford him any practical assistance.

His project, his inspiration, was certainly not all due to mere idle rumour—sea-faring tales! It surely was not merely “Providential,” because at the very outset he protested most vigorously to the Spanish Court that he was possessed of *certain valuable facts*, and they were certainly not merely the mysterious—fabulous—chart of the Florentine, Paolo Toscanelli.

The actual motive and reason for his going to such an out-of-the-way place as Palos—not to the more important port, Huelva—has already been demonstrated.

It is unfortunate that the actual conversations and dealings between Colón and Pinzón were not recorded at the time they occurred, in detail. But there is evidence extant (see the proceedings) that Pinzón himself had been to Italy, to Rome, about this very matter of the Unknown World, and discussed it with Colón at Palos, on his return. He was credited with having obtained and brought back with him a copy of this famous chart of Toscanelli, which was stated afterwards, during the litigation already mentioned, to have been used by Colón to assist him in making his eventful voyage of discovery.

It is recorded, further, that Colón arrived at Palos with his young son, Diego, in a poverty-stricken and distressed condition—practically beggars. They duly

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found succour and shelter at the Franciscan Convent or Monastery of La Rábida, near Palos. Martin Alonso Pinzón was then on a voyage to Italy. "And in that building" (it still stands!) "Colón awaited his return," no doubt having gained the sympathy of the "Guardian," the Friar Juan Perez, commonly styled Juan Perez de Marchena, it being probable that the worthy friar had already heard of the unfortunate end of the Pilot, Alonso Sanchez.

It seems curious that he did not go to the house of his brother-in-law, Pedro de Correa, whether actually then living at Palos or at Huelva!

As to his somewhat dramatic arrival and appearance at Palos, Cronau thus describes it: "As poor as he had arrived there, Colón, in despair of any success, at length abandoned the Court of Spain, and, on foot, carrying and assisting his little son, Diego, laboriously journeyed down the length of the valley of the rio Tinto (!) in the direction of the Port of Huelva" (practically an impossibility, even to an expert and well-trained pedestrian!). "In that manner and condition he eventually arrived at the Convent of the Fathers Franciscanos of La Rábida, near Palos, at the mouth of that river; in whose doorway, according to tradition, he appeared and stumbled at its portico, exhausted with hunger and fatigue."

If he performed that feat in July or August no wonder he appeared to be exhausted—if he actually went down the valley of the rio Tinto, which is, as everybody knows, a bitter stream and dry normally in those months nowadays! These remarks are penned at Rio Tinto itself!

Turning for a moment to other modern authorities, the very learned Italian antiquarian and epigraphist, Ludovico Muratori, in vol. 23 of his *Rerum Italic.*, recounts the brief commentary about this voyage of Colón, made by one Antonio Gallo, a Genovese, who lived *c.* 1499. He mentions the domestic conditions of the family, that there were three brothers, Cristobal, Bartolomé,

THE VARIOUS AUTHORITIES

and Jacobo; that Bartolomé was the first (!) who actually discovered the New World; says nothing of the Pilot of Huelva, Alonso Sanchez, although he admits that Colón had received certain specific and valuable data and information "from pilots"; and then recounts the voyage of Cristobal Colón.

Muratori probably had access to the works of Las Casas, Fernandez Oviedo, Gomara and others extant in his day; but he says absolutely nothing at all of the reputed *History of Cristobal Colón* by his son, Fernando, said to have been written by him, but first published by Alfonso de Ulloa in Italy in Italian, in 1571, and afterwards translated into Spanish.

That remarkable linguist and Oriental scholar, Bernardo Aldrete, or Alderete, of Cordoba, in his interesting work, *Varios Antigüedades de España*, etc. (Amberes, 1614, p. 567), says: "*Siendo cierto que el primero que dió noticia á Christoval Colón del nuevo mundo fué Alonso Sanchez de Huelva, marinero, natural de esta villa,*" etc. He also cites the works of Acosta, and the Inca, Garci Laso de la Vega, and concludes: "*Fué esto mas notorio y sabido en toda la Andaluzia, que no debiera aver de dexado de escribir por nuestros historiadores.*"

Aldrete was quite right, but failed, however, to note what is a very important fact, that this Inca made his affirmations as from Peru, where he had obtained the information and knowledge he later published in Spain, having there heard it from his father, and his friends, who lived there under the famous Alvarado, before 1560; and who there married the Inca's mother, who was of royal blood; and closely following the time of the conquest of Peru by Pizarro; and, therefore, naturally fully cognisant of the current talk and detailed history of this "Discovery" by Colón—in *Cuzco*!

The noted antiquarian and epigraphist, Rodrigo Caro, of Sevilla, in his very valuable and interesting work *Antigüedades*, etc. (Sevilla, 1634, p. 207) has it: "*Fué asimismo natural de Huelva el primer hombre que descubrió las Indias de Poniente, llamado Juan Sanchez*

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de Huelva, el qual, llevando con un barco grande mercaderias á Canaria, llegando cerca de aquella Isla, fue arrebatado con un viento tan desecho, que en diez y siete dias le puso en las Indias ; y habiendo tomado tierra y considerado aquel no conocido mundo, ni visto hasta entonces, volvió á embarcarse, y otro viento derecho lo volvió á Canaria en otros diez y siete dias, pero tan mal tratado de los trabajos que avia padecido, que luego enfermó mortalmente : mas siendo tratado y regalado benigneamente de Cristobal Colón, que á la sazón se hallava en aquella Isla, *le pagó el hospedaje con relacion cierta de todo lo que avia visto, y de aqui se originó el total descubrimiento de aquel mundo nuevo.*"

In a similar general manner another writer of this period is also found to deal with this question of "the nebulous Pilot of Huelva." The learned Jesuit, Solorzano, in his *Indiarum Jure* (vol. i. c. 5), wherein he treats of the Pilot and Discoverer who instructed Cristobal Colón, had not read all, or did not quote fully, the chapter and verse of the Inca Garci Laso when he merely affirmed : "that he did not know with what foundation it had been alleged 'that it was the Pilot of Huelva' who actually made the Discovery": "*Nullò quod sciam fundamento ductus, Alphonsum Sanchez, nominatum scribat,*" etc.

There is again the curious fact that the famous yet missing "Diary" of Colón was written in Spanish and not in Italian or even in Portuguese. Of course it would have been written down by his clerk, Diego de Salcédo, Colón himself—to judge from his signature—being almost an illiterate. Again, he had not lived in Spain to enable him to acquire the language, but was born and educated in Italy, and had for years lived in Portugal and in a Portuguese Island Colony—married to a Portuguese, where he would hardly have been able to learn the Spanish language sufficiently to enable him to write a diary and correspond in Spanish.

Yet when he arrived at Palos he appears to have been able to speak and understand that language !

ANTON DEL OLMET

But if he really were a Spaniard, as has been alleged, then it is very easy to understand how, when he reached Palos, in 1492, he was well able to conduct his business and make himself understood. This question is treated of later on.

There is a further apparent anomaly to which the writer would draw attention. Colón is frequently referred to in this work as an illiterate: yet many persons—amongst them the Inca—have cited him as a cartographer, letter-writer, etc. In the course of his very biting article Olmet emphasises the incongruity of these views.

Later, we shall proceed to consider and deal with the testimony of the very valuable records contained in the great *Archivo de las Indias* of Sevilla, hitherto unpublished in our language, which throw a great deal of light upon the matter of the "Discovery of America"—by the person who took Cristobal Colón there in A.D. 1492—almost unheard-of in our history—*Martin Alonso Pinzón!*

But, before doing so, let us consider the very strongly critical illustration of the question as set forth by the distinguished student of it, Anton del Olmet, Marquès de Dosfuentes, and published by him in 1911.

He says:

"An event of considerable and very widespread importance and interest to the public has just taken place in the sphere of geographical science. Such reasonably may be esteemed the recent publication of the work of Henry Vignaud, *Histoire critique de la grande entreprise de Christophe Colomb*. In this critical study made by the most capable of the 'Americanistas,' its distinguished author, after examining, one by one, the various hypotheses intended to explain the origin of the Discovery of the New World, it is roundly affirmed that it was due to the map, or chart, of the Pilot of Huelva, Alonso Sanchez.

"Therefore, after many years of investigation the erudite North American definitely corroborates the

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assertion contained in my previous publication *La Carta y Mapa de Toscanelli*.

"Well and good ; this obliges me in compliance with a debt of patriotism as a Spaniard and a chronicler of the city of Huelva, to publish in synthesis, the assertions contained in my *Memoria* entitled *Alonso Sanchez de Huelva, Verdadero Descubridor del Nuevo Mundo*—accepted and rewarded by the 'Sociedad Columbina Onubense,' in 1910.

"It is not long since, in the past year also, I published the extensive study *La Verdadera Patria de Cristobal Colón*. In it is to be found proved, in a conclusive manner, and now adopted as an official thesis by many of the Universities of America, that the 'First Admiral of the Indies' was not a Genovese, but a 'Gallego,' a native of the Province of Pontevedra, Galicia, in Spain. I consider it necessary to establish such a precedent so as to prepare the minds of the greater number—if not all—of the readers of this present effusion. By that I mean to say that it is necessary, before everything, that it should be known that everything relating to the first official revealer of the New World—all that pertains to the personality of Cristobal Colón is to be found, until now, wrapped in mystery—absolutely nothing certain being known respecting him and his origin."

[This is a direct contradiction to the data given in Vol. 6 of the 9th Edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, pp. 170-1.]

"If, then, Cristobal Colón—'the distinguished Genovese Navigator,' as he has so generally been styled—was *not* a Genovese, but a native of the Province of Pontevedra, Galicia, Spain, there will be no difficulty in conceding the possibility that the true 'Discoverer of the New World' was not really Colón, but actually and in fact the Pilot of Huelva—Alonso Sanchez."

"THE HISTORICAL FACT.

"It is necessary, before everything, to refer to the historical fact, to reason upon it.

THE FISCAL, VILLALOBOS

“ From the day on which Cristobal Colón, as we will call him, disembarking at the Port of Palos, in the Province of Huelva, from whence he had sailed, in 1492, brought to Spain material proof of the existence and whereabouts of a New World, a certain accusation surged against him. It was, that Colón had *not really discovered* those lands, but had gone there, in a fraudulent manner, by the aid of a map or chart which some years previously, in 1484, had been handed to him by the Pilot of Huelva, Alonso Sanchez, whose name and authority *he had never mentioned, but deliberately concealed!* from everybody probably except from Martin Alonso Pinzón, the squire of Palos !

“ This robust affirmation and accusation, which went from mouth to mouth in every port of the coast of Andalusia, according to contemporary witnesses of the event, who with their own ears had listened to what fell from the lips of Spanish mariners, translating the matter presently to history, such as the famous Captain Gonzalo Fernandez de Oviedo y Valdés, the earliest official Chronicler and Historian of the New World, was not merely a popular rumour—public voice, the *vox populi* of the Romans. The Vatican—the Pope—on referring for the first time to the Discovery of the New World—in a Bull!—employed only ambiguous phraseology, avoided calling Colón the Discoverer, being aware, as other and scientific bodies in Europe were, of the accusation which weighed upon Colón, and timorous, therefore, of compromising the Papal ‘Infallibility.’ Thus do the most erudite commentators of the Papal Bulls explain the matter.

“ The character of the present study does not permit of the citation of the various texts, being limited to the provision of a mere index to the material.

“ But that is not all. Shortly afterwards the Crown of Castile refusing to accede to the unlimited and insensate exigencies of Colón, which, based on the ‘Capitulaciones’ agreed upon at Santa Fé (Granada), for the sanction and realisation of the ‘Discovery,’ pretended

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to the almost absolute sovereignty—for him and his successors, *pro perpetuo*, of the New World—less a mere feudal recognition, purely nominal and imaginary, to the Sovereigns of Castile—the Fiscal of His Majesty the King, in the lawsuit entered by the heirs-at-law of the ‘First Admiral of the Indies,’ tired out with useless reasonings and the discussion of texts and arguments *ad nauseam*, and exhausting words and phrases without end, adopted the party of the argument *ad hominem*, and, casting aside laws and hermeneutics, threw in the face of Cristobal Colón the broad accusation which had been on the lips of everybody, *that the Admiral of the Indies really had no right to anything* : that the Pact signed at Santa Fé, stipulating the conditions of the Discovery, was null and void at law ! *Cristobal Colón*, in effect, says the Fiscal of the Council of the Indies, *was not the actual Discoverer of the Indies ; that the true Discoverer was quite another person ! !* [See the proofs of the Fiscal in corroboration of this.]

“The Fiscal, Villalobos, did not give the actual name of this true Discoverer—on the contrary, he at first attempted, by agreement with his son and heirs, to establish that Martin Alonso Pinzón was or had been the owner of the map or chart with the aid of which Colón had realised the Discovery. This was absurd, of course, but it was quite sufficient for the object he had in view. With that the hitherto interminable lawsuits suddenly terminated !

“The then Admiral of the Indies, the successor of the supposed Discoverer of the New World, the House of Colón—which had litigated for so many years with a tenacity of purpose that had become proverbial in Spain—retired, abandoned the suit, and the pretension ! The House of Colón—Dukes of Veragua—comes to make ‘a deal’ ! An amicable compromise settles all difficulties—namely, to attribute *to another* the Discovery of the New World : a settlement palpably revealing *the truth* !

“This ‘other’ was Alonso Sanchez, the Pilot of Huelva.

DEATH OF ALONSO SANCHEZ

“ Little does it matter whether the Fiscal alleged that it was Martin Alonso Pinzón. The truth, the fact of the case was, *that it was another, not Cristobal Colón!* The shade of Alonso Sanchez settled upon the ‘ Genovese,’ and was sufficient to end all litigation. The heir-at-law of Colón found, and with good reason, that if he persisted ‘ the devil would cast off his mantle,’ and, at last, in all its striking nakedness, the truth would come out. Discreetly, though perforce, a compromise is arrived at, the Colón family come to a deal, profiting all they possibly can by the legacy of—*the Pilot of Huelva!* ”

“ HOW THE HISTORIC EVENT OCCURRED.

“ One is obliged to refer, succinctly, dispensing with details incompatible with the nature of this study, to the current rumour as to how and when the event actually took place, which was thrown in the face of Cristobal Colón from the very day on which he returned from having made his ‘ immortal discovery.’ ”

“ Here is the narrative itself in question, extracted from the work of a writer almost contemporary with Oviedo.

“ Alonso Sanchez, a native and citizen of the town of Huelva, was the master of a ‘ nao,’ with which he navigated between Spain and the Canary and Madeira Islands in the Pacific.

“ Sailing from the Canaries on his last voyage with the object of returning to Spain—to Huelva—he is forced by a tempest, which, after a thousand dreadful struggles and dramatic incidents, brings him in sight of an uncharted island far off in the unknown West.

“ The very fatigued mariners gladly landed and, no doubt, thanked God for their deliverance from the prospect of a horrible death. They provided themselves with the more necessary supplies, such as water and fuel, and, gathering samples of gold and other things from the natives and place, sought to return to Spain by the same route by which they had come.

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“ Endlessly they struggled in their arduous enterprise, suffering greatly. At the end of many days, after changing their set course towards Spain, they succeeded in reaching the Madeiras.

“ Alonso Sanchez, being an expert mariner, formed during the voyage a chart of the route he had followed in going and coming on that remarkable journey. The island that he had reached—driven there by the force of tempestuous weather (probably a powerful ‘levante,’ or easterly wind—they sometimes last sixty days without a break !) was that mysterious land which for almost a century had haunted the minds of navigators—Spanish, Portuguese, Andaluces and Basques—whose occupations caused them to voyage between the coasts of Spain and Portugal and not only the Canaries and the Madeiras, but also the Azores, unconsciously following the routes of the Phœnicians some eighteen centuries previously !

“ Probably his chief anxiety, as a mariner, was to draw an exact chart of the route he had followed : but the rough one he made in the trying circumstances was, no doubt, sufficiently correct.

“ In the island of the Madeiras called Porto Santo, at which he landed, lived a chartographer who had there established his home. He was the reputed Genovese, Cristobal Colón. Alonso Sanchez had, no doubt, heard of the fact during his many voyages there.

“ Naturally and eagerly Alonso Sanchez goes to him for assistance, and, receiving it, in gratitude confides to him the history of his very extraordinary voyage, showing him all his papers, notes and chart, amplifying their incompleteness by verbal explanations.

“ And here it is that the Genovese chartographer lodges the worn-out and unfortunate Huelva pilot in his house, wherein he dies !

“ Here, too, he shelters—curious, deeply interested and compassionate—the few remaining mariners who had survived the grievous and mortal sufferings and hardships of their remarkable voyage, but of whom nothing else has been recorded : they died there !

THE COLUMBIAN LEGEND

“ At this point the various versions of this story somewhat differ. The Castilian writers narrate that Alonso Sanchez, dying, hands to the Genovese chartographer—Colón—in gratitude for the kind interest and treatment he and his unfortunate companions had received from him, all his papers, notes and charts, bequeathing to him his ‘treasury,’ his vessel, his all ! The Portuguese chroniclers, with better knowledge of the facts, because the Madeiras belonged to Portugal, assure us that the Genovese ‘got rid of’ Alonso Sanchez, seizing his property ! his treasure ! which was nothing less than the New World ! The simple fact is, that Alonso Sanchez disappears from the world of the living, and at the same time also the three or four others, the surviving mariners of his vessel, of Huelva !

“ With the papers of Alonso Sanchez in his possession the chartographer, Cristobal Colón, comes to Europe—to Portugal—to offer to it the Discovery of the New World ! We know with certainty that for many years, from after 1484, he vainly endeavoured to get it to accept the offer.

“ WHO PROPAGATED THE NOTICE ?

“ Colón, after his peregrinations and adventures in Europe, at length reaches the Court of Castile. Nobody listens to him or takes any notice of his tale, according to the ‘Columbinos.’ His genius or eccentricity is understood by no one, by nobody appreciated. At length a miracle happens. It occurs at the Monastery of La Rábida ! It is in the country of Alonso Sanchez—Huelva ! From thence at length sailed the expedition of Colón, thither it returned. The armada on its outward voyage called at the Canaries to refit, as on its return it called at the Madeiras—the late home of the Admiral. As Colón well knew, those were the parts hitherto frequented by the ‘nao’ of Alonso Sanchez. On all sides surged the recollection of him—he was necessarily a very well-known person ; the people’s means of correspondence and communication with their folk in Spain

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and Portugal. His ashes, still warm as it were, become reanimated, the dead resuscitates ! And with the return of Colón, successful ! an indication, a suspicion, an ill-muffled murmur, a general clamour, at last an accusation, has materialised in the maritime world, and flies from mouth to mouth, from port to port ! In Italy—at Rome—with the notice of the discovery also arrives the accusation. Colón is an impostor ! that is what was openly affirmed and repeated—charged ! that he had made use of the information and charts given to him on his deathbed by Alonso Sanchez, the well-known Pilot of Huelva, but never mentioned by him, thus defrauding the heirs of that unfortunate mariner !

“ This matter of fact becomes public everywhere ; the mariners talk of it, discuss it ; that is, those who were in a position to know and those competent to judge of the matter.

“ WHEN IT WAS RECORDED IN HISTORY.

“ The Columbian Legend—as it is best described—which has laboured to make of the First Admiral of the Indies not only a genius but also a martyr ! seriously soliciting of Rome the canonisation of Cristobal Colón, says that the first historian to record in his history the facts concerning Alonso Sanchez of Huelva, but without actually naming him, was Gonzalo Fernandez de Oviedo y Valdés. ¹

“ That is not so. ¹

“ Putting aside records which exist in manuscript, the enumeration of which is not the object of this study—in the *History of the New World* of Friar Bartholomé de las Casas, the notorious Bishop of Chiapa, intimate friend of Cristobal Colón—possessor of all his papers, including the famous ‘ Diario ’ which has not since been seen—reference, based on public voice and rumour, is made to the adventure of Alonso Sanchez, but without actually mentioning his name, with minute details.

The learned Padre de las Casas, whose father was favoured by Colón, records that when Colón on his

CESAREO FERNANDEZ DURO

second voyage disembarked at Hayti, or Santo Domingo, the natives told the Spaniards that they were not the first white and bearded men that had visited them : that a few years previously others, like them, had also been there. These were then, in all probability, the mariners of Huelva, Alonso Sanchez and his unfortunate companions.

“ Fernando Colón, an illegitimate son of Cristobal Colón, the first biographer of his father, brings into his history, *Historia del Almirante Don Cristobal Colón*, to discard and to deny it, this account of the adventures of Alonso Sanchez, the Pilot of Huelva (*op. cit.* i. 724).

“ And from that time, until to-day, rare indeed is the historian of the New World who has not referred to this event, to affirm it ; to deny it ; to doubt it ; or discuss it : it is the case of the ‘ Nebulous Pilot of Huelva.’

“ The Inca Garci Laso de la Vega, born in Peru, at Cuzco, was the first writer to mention the name and circumstances of the actual discoverer of the New World in the fifteenth century A.D., giving his origin and country. The Inca recorded that he knew of the incident of Alonso Sanchez of Huelva, because he had heard it mentioned and described, when a young man (he came to Spain in 1560), by some of the *Conquistadores* of Peru, etc.—amongst their number being his own father, who married an Inca—contemporaries of Cristobal Colón himself.” [Olmet is here referring to the narrative, elsewhere reproduced and translated, contained in vol. i of that very remarkable work, *Comentarios Reales de el origen de los Incas*, first issued at Lisboa, 1609, of which the writer of this article is using the Madrid edition of 1723.]

“ THE ACTUAL STATE OF THE QUESTION.

“ A matter so transcendental, so attractive and interesting because of the halo of mystery surrounding it ; to such a degree, passionate, because of its background of Shakespearean tragedy ; has not attracted, even until very recent days, the appreciation which a true sage would, in truth, very readily attribute to it. Multiple

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causes have contributed thereto. To enumerate them all would be fatiguing, as also a departure from the intention, the scheme of a simple "résumé." It was not until the arrival, in 1892, of the Fourth Centenary of the Discovery of the New World—so-called, having reference to Colón's—that foreign ill-will and national indolence combined to fix general and particular attention upon this matter and question.

"The best authority in Spain on the history of the discovery of the Indies, the illustrious member of the Real Academia de la Historia de Madrid, the naval captain Don Cesareo Fernandez Duro, an indefatigable champion of the national glory and of its literary treasures, after having dedicated luminous and thoughtful studies on the remarkable circumstances and personality of Martin Alonso Pinzon, of Palos, near to Huelva, dedicated a masterly effort to the memory of the forgotten, unfortunate, almost unknown Pilot of Huelva, Alonso Sanchez, the Actual Discoverer of the Indies, and consequently of the American continent—the New World !

"Within the walls of that great institution of learning was read and listened to with keen interest and satisfaction the illuminating labour of that distinguished officer of the Spanish Marine, directed towards the proper recognition and glorification of the unfortunate but almost immortal Mariner of Huelva. In his very able study, entitled *La tradición de Alonso Sanchez de Huelva, Descubridor de tierras incognitas*, Fernandez Duro cleverly summarised his affirmations, so many times expressed, *en passant*, in his various treatises on the remarkable achievement realised by this 'Pilot of Huelva.'

"The resonance of this study of the able naval officer, categorically affirming the reality of this Alonso Sanchez of Huelva, solemnly proclaiming him as the true 'Discoverer of the New World'—reverberating, as unfortunately is far too frequently the case, very much more in foreign countries than in his mother country,

THE MONASTERY OF LA RABIDA

Spain, resulted, as a consequence, in the publication of several monographs, which cannot be quoted here *in extenso*, and in some of which it was demanded that the city of Huelva should itself erect a statue to the memory of one of the most glorious of its sons, offering, at the same time, to contribute towards such a proper act the necessary funds.

“ But the very best study of all those hitherto made about this Alonso Sanchez is the work that, with the title of *La Carta y el Mapa de Toscanelli*, was published by a Spanish publishing house, translating it from the original French, in which language it was issued, in 1901. The author of it is Henry Vignaud, a North American diplomat; to-day the principal authority on Spanish-American literary questions. In this work, inspired by the monograph of Cesareo Fernandez Duro, the question is investigated whether Cristobal Colón did, or did not, make the discovery of the New World with the aid of the map of Toscanelli, and demonstrating in a most conclusive manner the absurdity of such an hypothesis! Vignaud clearly explains the reasons by which the supposed discoverer, Colón, had to feign the existence of such a map. Where is the original?

“ The existence of the chart of Toscanelli was invented to fend off the threat made against Colón of making known to the public at large the existence of this pilot, Alonso Sanchez of Huelva. The chart of Toscanelli was, in effect, the alibi fabricated by Colón to throw public opinion off the scent. And here we realise why Vignaud studied the fact of the existence and doings of Alonso Sanchez, categorically affirming his reality. After that—the work of Vignaud has summed up and judged this great suit—dictating a definite judgment in favour of the Mariner of Huelva.

“ THE FACT OF THE MATTER ACCORDING TO THE COLUMBIAN LEGEND.

“ The historical fact of the discovery of the New World by Alonso Sanchez, of Huelva, has been known

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and has been treated of by nearly all the historians of the Continent, called by Spaniards the Western Indies, and to-day America. But that fact, nevertheless, has not yet become common and popular knowledge, either in America or Europe.

“ On the other hand, the *Leyenda Columbina* has inundated the entire literary world ! We have all learnt, in every country, in schools, state or otherwise, in institutes, in the universities ! how, according to it, the discovery of the New World took place ! !

“ A poor stranger, probably without any certificate of origin, a ‘ Genovese ’ named Cristobal Colón, or in English Christopher Columbus—he never claimed or passed under such a name ! in Spain, at any rate (*vide the Archivo de las Indias*)—arrives at the Court of Spain to offer to Their Catholic Majesties the ‘ Discovery of the New World ’ ! *divined* by his superhuman genius, the existence of which was corroborated by his supernatural wisdom ! But ignorance, envy and the characteristic fanaticism of the Spaniards led them to declare an implacable antagonism to the divine ‘ Genovese ’ ! Mariners and theologists scorned him, and almost persecuted him to death ! Horrible ! The Genovese superman, desperate, determines to abandon the country Spain as he had already done Portugal ! But a truly providential accident supervenes and solves the difficulty !

“ The Genovese navigator, Colón, has at last recollected that there, in the city of Huelva, *he has a brother-in-law*, and experiences a desire to say ‘ good-bye ’ to him, to give him a final affectionate embrace and adieu !

“ The *homo sapiens*, then, journeys towards the seaport of Huelva, the ‘ *Onuba* ’ of the Latins, and *en route* comes across, quite accidentally, of course, the village of Palos, although there did not exist any possibility of his touching there in going to Huelva from whence he had come ! At, or near to, Palos, the ‘ *Palus Estraphus* ’ of Pliny, exists the Franciscan monastery of “ La Rábida.” In it lives a famous astronomer ! A casual interview is

FERNANDO COLON

quite sufficient. As genii understand each other in a moment, a single conversation suffices. The 'Fraile,' the monk, requests the Genovese wayfarer to stay awhile and partake of his hospitality, *por amor de Dios!*

"The learned father calls for writing material, and edits a letter to Her Majesty the Queen! She, gracious lady, answers by return of post, and directing the worthy friar, Juan Perez, to report himself immediately at Court—to her! The worthy and delighted monk obtains a mule, harnesses it, and with free rein, starts for Santa Fé, Granada, where the Court then was, some few leagues distant.

"Her Majesty complacently listens to the Italian's propositions. In a moment, as it were, everything is arranged between them. With all urgency a letter is at once posted. The anxious and expectant Genovese receives it and promptly arrives at the Court. His covetous mouth does not tire or become satiated with asking. He desires to be Viceroy *in perpetuum!* and for his heirs and successors as well as for himself! *un petit roi! un petit Dieu!* His pretensions appear somewhat exorbitant to the Queen, but his time of good fortune has arrived at last, after eight long years!

"Their Majesties sign the *Capitulaciones*, and, as a result, the Genovese chartographer sails from the Port of Palos, armed with the indispensable authority to annex a New World in the name and on behalf of Their Most Catholic Majesties!

"The sequel need not be related in detail here—it is told in the official proceedings cited by Fernandez Duro already referred to.

"The cowardice of the Spanish sailors, perhaps really only feigned towards Colón, in refusing at first to join and embark in the expedition; the terror and panic of those who eventually did do so, during the voyage, all are conquered by the superhuman Genovese navigator and chartographer; whose unlimited grandeur, almost Divine!—is heightened in proportion when

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compared with the meanness and malice of the knavish Spaniards !

7
“ Here we have what has been taught to the world by the defrauded Spaniards, this ‘ Legend of Columbus ’ ; until in the year 1892, at the time of the celebration of the Fourth Centenary of the event, a certain number of persons of some note decided formally and seriously to protest : amongst them Fernandez Duro and Vidart were the principal champions of the struggle. To Menendez Pelayo belongs, however, the glory of having thrown out, on that memorable occasion, his dignified and telling protest, animating and sustaining the champions of the truth in their contradiction of such long-standing calumny.

“ The fact of the discovery of the New World, as performed by the *Leyenda Columbina*, is extraordinarily interesting, infinitely superior to most published and known novels. But, however little be the attention bestowed upon it, the inconsistent edifice dissolves, crumbles to fragments. Force is required, however, to enable reason, judgment, and public general opinion—after such a lapse of centuries—all at once to renounce the Columbian Legend and to be able to arrive at the truth of the matter.

“ Invented by Fernando Colón, the second and illegitimate son of Cristobal Colón, the First Admiral and Viceroy of the Indies, and the first historian of his father, the legend was paraphrased by Washington Irving, and through singular circumstances obtained world-wide fame.

“ So that Cristobal Colón, who amongst his contemporaries in Spain, in Italy, in all Europe, was held in so little general esteem, by reason of the avarice, cruelty, egotism, arrogance, and other such inferior qualities as constituted his moral index, has come to be valued, at the commencement of the nineteenth century, as a Genius, a Hero, a God !!

“ Between Fernando Colón, an interested party, somewhat ! and a North American, a declared enemy to

LETTERS OF TOSCANELLI

Spain and to Spaniards, remained forged, launched and established the 'Legend of Columbus'! But History has at length destroyed it.

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11

" SOLUTIONS SO FAR FOUND SATISFACTORILY TO

" EXPLAIN THE FACT OF THE DISCOVERY OF

" THE NEW WORLD.

 " Instinctively realising that the events, as they have been described, cannot satisfy reason and common sense, all the historians who have treated of the discovery of the New World have individually pronounced the solution which best suited them and was the more convenient to adopt.

" We will do away with the hypothesis of 'accident,' because, as it explains 'everything,' in reality it explains 'nothing'! The 'fluke' in discovering the New World does not deserve the honour of criticism.

" In similar conditions is to be found the hypothesis of the 'Providential,' with which Roselly de Lorgues has pretended to canonise Cristobal Colón! To explain the most enormous and monstrous absurdities by the irresistible and absolute volition of Providence is a conception of Divinity which one might ascribe to an ignorant parish priest, but which only, in our day, an unpolished sacerdote would asseverate and dare to publish.

" In opposition to this 'Providential' solution, philosophers in general, the Protestants—enemies of Catholicism and of Spain—have invented the hypothesis of science. Of Colón they make a wise and learned scientist; and, this once accepted, his *wisdom* explains all!

" Analogous to the preceding solution is the *hipótesis marina*—that is, that of the 'navigations' of Cristobal Colón. He is, they allege, a remarkable mariner as well as a skilful chartographer. His 'naos' had known and visited the world, from the glacial seas to the Tropics. For him the seas held no secrets! This is the hypothesis of those jealous of Spain, or rather, one

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of their hypotheses. We are to suppose that in Spain there existed no mariners who could be considered his equals !

“ With each hypothesis—that is, the scientific aspect of the matter and the nautical experience and skill of Colón—because of their relative importance, we will deal separately.

“ Understanding, however, that neither of these solutions could satisfy reason, some historians have accommodated themselves to other and distinct suppositions and theories.

“ One of them is that of the papers and charts of his father-in-law, Monis de Perestrello, which supposes that Cristobal Colón, when he came back to Europe in 1484 or 1485, had knowledge of the existence of the New World because he held in his possession the documents he had inherited from his father-in-law, a famous and very skilful Portuguese navigator. Another hypothesis is that which affirms that Colón had information of the New World through a letter from Paolo Toscanelli, the famous physician and ‘ sabio ’ of Florence, who had sent him nothing less than a chart or map on which were noted those lands which the Genovese discovered by navigating with its aid.”

[Copies of two letters of Paolo Toscanelli to Colón, the one dated at Florence, 25th of June 1574 (1474), the second being undated, are contained in the extraordinary work ascribed to Fernando Colón, a copy of which the writer has before him in Spanish, undated, but published at Madrid, 1892. As is well known, this *Historia del Almirante Don Cristobal Colón*, first published at Venice, in 1571, and afterwards translated from the Italian by Alfonso de Ulloa, was not written by Fernando Colón, but is believed to have been *supercheria literaria*—i.e., a literary swindle—by Ulloa himself.—ED.]

Resuming : “ The two hypotheses resemble each other, being, at bottom, really one and the same thing, the ‘ historic ’ solution of the matter, embodied in Alonso Sanchez. In both, in effect, Colón has know-

DOCUMENTARY EVIDENCE

ledge or information of the existence and whereabouts of the New World from somebody, and makes the voyage with notable precision ! with the aid of papers and charts of *somebody* !

“ He never publicly quoted or recognised that authority.

“ There remains ultimately, not to be too prolix, the hypothesis of tradition. The New World, it says, had already been known. The ancients had frequented it ; they had a half-way station at the Azores—the “ Hesperides.” Cristobal Colón had read the classical texts alluding to this ‘ terra incognita,’ whose discovery, with prophetic voice, was announced by the Córdoban philosopher and poet, Lucius Annæus Seneca :

“ *Venient Annis
Saecula feris, quibus Oceanus
Vincula rerum laxet, et ingens
Pateat tellus, Typhisque novæ
Detegat ordies, nec fit terris
Ultima Thule.*”

(Aldrete, 567.

Caro, 208.)

“ Of this solution something will be said presently. Let us proceed to examine them in their order.

“ MODUS OPERANDI TO BE ABLE TO DETERMINE IF THE WORK OF ALONSO SANCHEZ WAS OR WAS NOT A FACT.

“ By two roads in the investigation of this case, as in all others, the truth of the matter can be arrived at. The first is that of the positive argument, that is to say, by absolute documental proof. The second is the negative argument, that is, the ‘ reductio ad absurdum ’ of each one of the solutions offered, to arrive mathematically, by the elimination successively of the ‘ incognitos,’ at the only rational and satisfactory hypothesis.

“ So far, good. Can both these methods be satisfactorily employed in the present historical investigation?

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“ POSITIVE DEMONSTRATION OF THE FACT.

“ Before going further, what is to be understood by ‘documental proof’? Here we have a tremendous problem of history. If ‘documental’ is to be entirely official, then ‘documental’ proof should be rejected from pure history. Because there is nothing so notoriously false in general as official documents. How many of the more famous have been found to be mere forgeries! ‘*Miente, más que la Gaceta*,’=‘lies more strongly even than the *Gazette* (Official),’ is a phrase which has become established as a proverb in Spain.

“ But if the affirmations of contemporaries of an event, the testimony of witnesses under oath who state that they had heard a certain occurrence referred to very generally on all sides; the contemporary reports, official chronicles; the earliest manuscript and published histories relating to the New World may be considered ‘documental,’ then the complete document, indisputable, exists, to affirm the part of Alonso Sanchez, the Pilot of Huelva. The testimonies of Las Casas, of Oviedo and of others, whose enumeration is needless, are ‘documents,’ abundant, true and conclusive.

“ To demand for Alonso Sanchez a certificate of baptism, when it had never been exhibited, nor, probably did it ever exist, to exact, in a word, what is termed ‘official’ documentation, is to demand of the Pilot of Huelva that which in similar circumstances has never been demanded of anybody as a necessary proof of existence and actions.

“ What ‘official’ documents are there to prove the existence of Pelayo? What are those which demonstrate the existence of Wilfrid the Hairy? Where are those of the Kings of Navarra? Has anybody ever read—or seen—the certificate of death of Don Rodrigo? Yet these questions may be equally well put with relation to almost all the sovereigns of Europe of before the sixteenth century A.D. It was only at that epoch, in effect, that parochial registers were instituted and established by decision of the Council of Trent!

MUÑOZ DE PERESTRELLO

" THE NEGATIVE DEMONSTRATION.

" The fact remains equally well demonstrated by the negative process. Because the scientific hypotheses are five in number.

" The first is, the science, wisdom and learning of Colón.

" We will dispense with the solution of the genius, as with that of his great learning, to explain the discovery of the New World. If to Emilio Castelar it might have appeared to be good as an eminently lyric material, for the lauding of the ' inspirations ' of the privileged ' seres,' as divination enters in full into the region of the supernatural, we will dispense with this merely rhetorical hypothesis, to discuss only the scientific one.

" Good : the most recent advancements have demonstrated, unfortunately for the passionate followers of Colón the Genovese, that the Admiral of the Indies was a profane in the Temple of Science rather than a brilliant member of it. An illustrious Professor and Director of a famous foreign naval college, notwithstanding his being a defender of the Colón theory, whilst discussing with certain German savants whose names it would be idle to cite, declared that his ignorance was absolute ! although at the same time searching for palliatives and excuses ! I refer to Geliech : whilst HARRISSE and RUGE are of a similar way of thinking.

" Then follows the hypothesis of his ' Navigations.' This, similarly to that of his profound learning, has ultimately been conceded to be quite beyond being discussed or taken seriously into account. If HARRISSE, in his critical and able study of this character, caused the statue of the superhuman Colón the Genovese to stagger, RUGE, in his very able study, *Columbus*, so shook it that it was only by a very fine equilibrium that it has been able to stand, to live, at all !

" Unfortunately for the sustainers of the *Leyenda Columbina*, the First Admiral of the Indies not only never had realised the very heroic maritime achievements

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and exploits which had been attributed to him by his son, Fernando Colón, but he probably had never navigated at all ! He may even have got as far as Lisbon—overland—if he really did come from Genoa ! He was a cartographer, a delineator of maps and charts, a draughtsman perhaps ! but certainly had never been, previous to 1484, either a captain, a pilot, a skilled mariner, or even a ship's apprentice ! !

“ Continuing, we arrive at the question of the papers of his father-in-law, Moñis, Monis, Muñiz or Muñoz de Perestrello. But here again we are met with the difficulty that this prodigious and most opportune father-in-law, who makes maps and charts whereon he paints New Worlds, did not understand anything about such, and had never been a ‘ navigator ’ ! Bartolome Munis, or Monis, de Perestrello was nothing but a poor Portuguese gentleman—generally confounded with another of an almost similar name—but himself had never been a mariner !

“ There remains the peculiar hypothesis of Paolo Toscanelli.

“ This assures us that Toscanelli, a doctor of Florence, sent Colón a letter with a chart. On this chart the New World was shown. With its aid, Cristobal Colón discovers the New World ! Vignaud has proved the falsity of all this. It was not at all necessary to demonstrate that such was impossible, that the letters and map, or chart, were purely apocryphal. It was quite sufficient to think and reflect upon the absurdity of this hypothesis.”

We will now leave Olmet for a while.

As it is not known to the writer if those letters of Toscanelli have ever been published in English, or in case they may be of interest, we will now give a translation of them as contained in the already cited Madrid edition (1892) of this supposed work of Fernando Colón. They are two in number, and after them is given a copy of the chart of Toscanelli as supplied by Olmet (*op. cit.* vii, 722).

A LETTER OF TOSCANELLI

We will reproduce the heading in Spanish :

“ CARTA
DE PAULO [TOSCANELLI] FISICO FLORENTIN
AL ALMIRANTE [!]
SOBRE EL DESCUBRIMIENTO DE LAS INDIAS,
A DON CRISTOBAL COLÓN,
PAULO, FISICO : SALUD : ”

This is alone quite sufficient to damn its authenticity. If the date given at the end of this remarkable concoction, 1574, be correctly given, then neither was Cristobal Colón alive, nor was it written until *after the Discovery* ! Again, if it really was written in 1474, then Colón *was not an Admiral*, either of Spain or of any other country !! It is also worthy of notice that this illegitimate son of Cristobal Colón gives neither the place nor the date of his birth in this curious *Historia del Almirante Colón* !

“ I observe your noble and grand desire to wish to travel to where the ‘ Especerías ’ [? Spice Islands] are to be found [they were only discovered by the Portuguese in 1509 !], for which reason, in reply to your letter, I send you a copy of another that I wrote a few days ago to a friend of mine, a household servant of His Majesty the King of Portugal, before the Wars of Castile [*sic*], in reply to another letter he had written to me by order of His Majesty about the matter referred to, and I send you another ‘ carta de marear ’—chart—similar to that which I had sent to him, with which satisfaction is given to your request : the copy of my other letter is as follows :—

“ To Fernando Martinez, Canon of Lisboa : Paulo, Fisico [physician], Salud : Much am I pleased to know of your intimacy with the ‘ Serenissimo ’ and ‘ Magnificentissimo ’ King, and although on many other occasions I have treated of the very short route there is from here to the Indies, where exist the *Especerías*, by sea, which I hold to be a much shorter one than that which you make by Guinea ” [it was not until 1497 that

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Vasco da Gama reached India, and this letter of Toscanelli is supposed to have been written before 1492—ED.] “now you tell me that His Majesty would wish some declaration or demonstration so as to be able to understand and take this route [new], which knowing how to do so with a sphere or globe in my hand, demonstrating how the World is [shaped] ; nevertheless I have determined, for the greater facility and better understanding of it, to demonstrate this route on a ‘carta,’ or chart—similar to those ‘de marear’—used by navigators ; and in that form and manner I sent it to His Majesty, made and illustrated in detail with my own hands, on which are shown all the lands in the extreme Occident, starting from Ireland in the North to the South—‘*al Austro,*’ as far as [the latitude of] Guinea, with all the islands that exist in this direction [the West], and in front of which, to the West, the commencement of the Indies with the islands and places where you will be able to voyage ; and how much [distance] you will be able to separate from ‘Polo Artico’ [*sic*] by the Equinoctial Line, and by how much or what distance, that is, how many leagues you will be able to arrive at those places so very fertile in ‘*especerias*’ [spices] and precious stones ; and do not be at all surprised that they call ‘Poniente’—West—the country in which the spices abound, and which generally is said to be found in the East, because those who navigate to the West always find them to the West, whilst those who go there by land always find them to the East.”

The whole of this wonderful piece of rubbish is published as one single paragraph ! and the punctuation is abominable. And thus, according to this letter and to the chart or map elsewhere exhibited, Toscanelli *does not* show to Colón *any New World at all* ! and, as has been noted before, the “*Especerias*,” or Spice Islands, were unknown to the Europeans until 1509 ! He simply treats of and points out a western route to the East ! shows nothing between the Azores and “*Cipango*,” probably the Philippines, not discovered until 1521 !

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“The horizontal lines of this map or chart show the distance there is from the East [Spain] to the West, the vertical ones that from North to South. I also showed on the said ‘carta’ or map, many places in the Indies which could be made use of in case of any fortuitous happenings occasioned by contrary winds or other unexpected event, and after, in order that you should be fully informed of everything, I will proceed to tell you what I have proved. The islands which have been mentioned by me are inhabited by traders who traffic in many countries, in their ports are to be seen a greater number of foreign vessels than in any others of the world.”

As this could not possibly have been so in 1474—the date of the letter as given is probably correct, 1574, when he advises Colón how to “discover” the New World by the Western route!

“From the port of Zaiton only—one of the most famous and beautiful in the Levant—every year sail more than one hundred vessels laden with pepper, without taking into account other vessels which take other classes of spices [*especerías*]. The country is of great extent, and populated, has many provinces and many kingdoms under the sole dominion of a single Prince named el Gran Cam (!!), which means ‘King of Kings.’ Ordinarily he has his residence in Cathay; his predecessors had desired to have trade and commerce with Christians, and some two hundred years ago sent Ambassadors to the Pope asking for teachers to instruct his people in the Christian Faith [!], but they could not reach Rome, and found themselves obliged to return because of the numerous difficulties met with *en route*. In the time of the Pope Eugenio IV [1431–1447] an ambassador arrived who assured him of the sympathy of the Princes and peoples of his country towards the Catholics; I was with him for a considerable period; he told me a good deal of the magnificence of his King; of the great rivers of his country; and that there were two hundred cities with bridges of marble built over one

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river only. The country is beautiful, and we ought to discover it because of the very great riches it contains, the quantities of gold, silver, and precious stones that can there be obtained ; and select for Governors of it the wisest people, without studying the nobility or the Government. You will find, on the map, that there are, from Lisbon to the famous City of Quisay, taking the route directly to the West, twenty-six intervals or spaces of one hundred and fifty ' millas ' each. Quisay has an ambit of thirty-five leagues ; the name signifies the ' City of the Heavens ' ; you can see ten large bridges of marble, with huge columns of extraordinary magnificence ; it is situated in the Province of Mango, near to Cathay. From the island of Antilla to Cipango there are ten intervals which sum up two hundred and twenty-five leagues. Jewels and gold are so abundant that they cover the Temples and Royal Palaces with tiles made of them. I still could add many other details, but as those which I have already mentioned, and you are prudent and of good sense, I think that I should not here repeat them. I desire that this letter should satisfy His Majesty, to whom I request you to say that I am in everything and in every occasion and matter quick to obey him, in whatever matter he may command to my care.

" Florence, 25th June 1574 " [sic].

These long paragraphs, without proper punctuation, besides being difficult of comprehension in some parts, are very trying.

In the same work we are quoting from (of Fernando Colón) there immediately follows another letter from Toscanelli *to the Admiral* " written after he had written that already given " :

" CARTA
DE PAULO (TOSCANELLI :) FISICO,
Á CRISTOBAL COLÓN.

" I received your letter with all that you sent me in it, for which I am much obliged to you. I esteem your

TOSCANELLI'S LETTERS

design to navigate to the Occident "[not a word about a New World!—ED.], "and am persuaded that you will have seen from my [other] letter, that the voyage you wish to undertake is not so difficult as it is generally thought to be; on the contrary, the route is secure, certain, by the countries or places I have mentioned; you will be absolutely convinced if you had communicated as I have done, with many people who have been in those parts." [It is here distinctly alluding to the known Old World—the East Indies, and not to an unknown—a New World!] "And you are certain to see powerful kingdoms, numbers of populous cities; and with provinces abounding in every class of precious stones; and will give the greatest pleasure to the King and to the Princes reigning in those far-off lands: open to them a road to enable them easily to get into touch and communicate with Christians, with the end to instruct them in the Catholic religion and in all our sciences. For which and other matters and things I could tell you of, I shall not be surprised that you have such a great heart and desire to do, as all the Portuguese nation [as though Colón were a Portuguese!], in which there have always been men distinguished in every class of enterprise."

Fernando Colón adds (p. 41, *op. cit.*, vol. i):

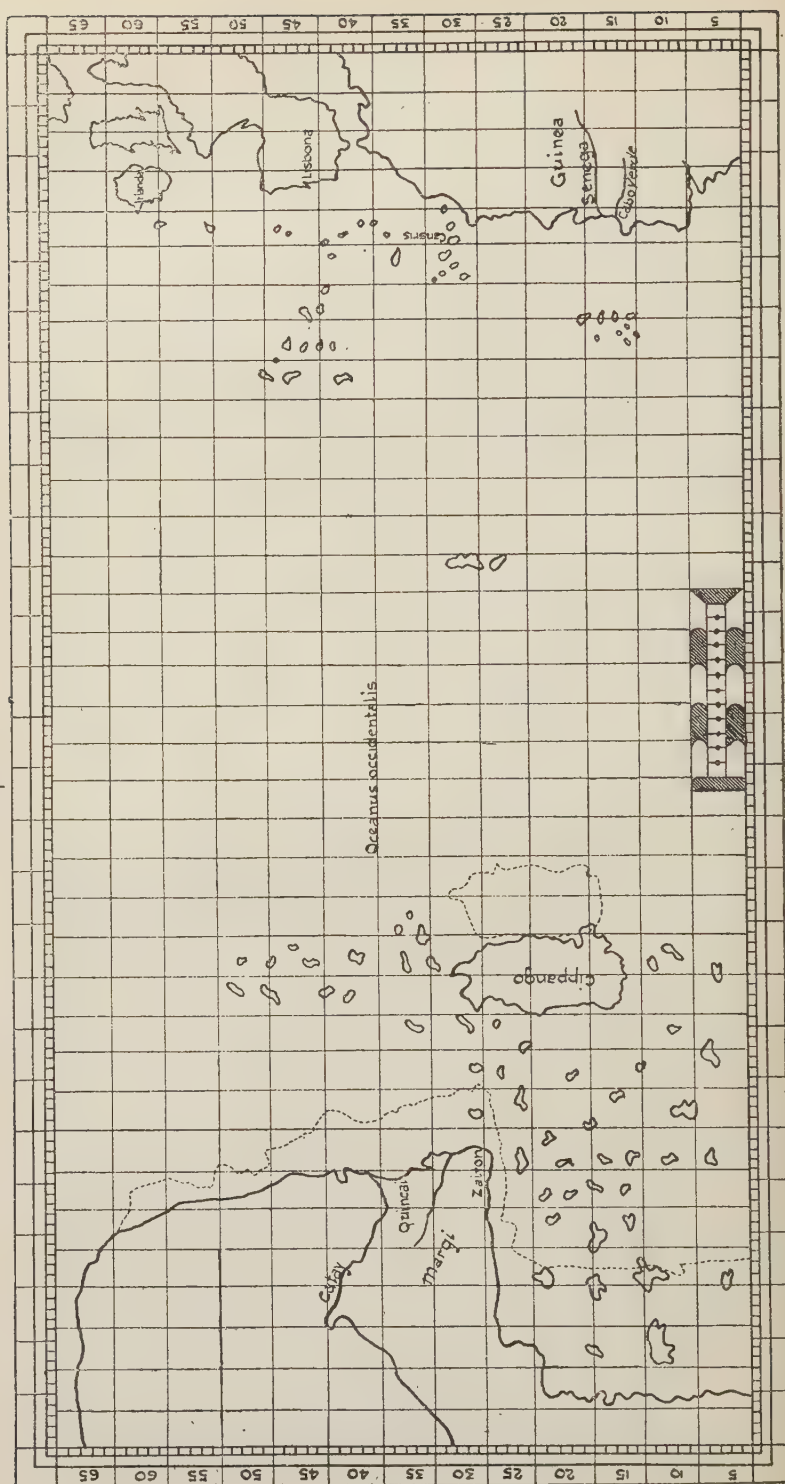
"This letter augmented the desire existing in the mind of Cristobal Colón to carry out the enterprise, although the Fisico deceived himself in imagining that Cathay and the Imperio of the Gran Cam were the first lands to be met with [in this Western route], as by experience he afterwards found."

The reputed chart of Toscanelli is reproduced by Olmet in the form shown overleaf.

To continue with Don Fernando de Anton del Olmet:

"How could a doctor of Florence, who had never been to sea, nor made a study of geography and chartography on practical lines, draw a 'map' or chart on which he could with any degree of precision locate or indicate a New World? Could he scientifically know of

Septentrio



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Occides

TOSCANELLI'S LETTERS

it, to be able to place it ? And if he did make a chart, fantastically ; if he arbitrarily drew lines and marked places by erroneous calculation or rather pure guess-work, could such a map or chart be accepted seriously ? If the illustration just given is a true copy of the one he made—in 1474 or 1574!—and sent to Cristobal Colón, then, by its aid, Colón could not even have known of the whereabouts of the New World, much less discover it ?

“ Colón *must have had other information.*

“ There now remains to be dealt with the experimental hypothesis, the solution which attributes to the previous knowledge of the existence and whereabouts of the New World its ‘discovery’ by the ‘Genovese.’

“ Nothing could be more certain than that knowledge ! Spaniards, and others, from Europe, in the ‘*tiempos Ibericos*’ had visited, explored, the continent which to-day we call America. Numerous and prolix works give us evident proof of it. It is not necessary, here, to enumerate them all. But that knowledge and probable frequentation of this New World, from Europe, remained almost entirely forgotten with the passing of time and the dissolution of nations. We find Seneca talking of or referring to it as an almost unknown matter, yet but a few centuries previously the Phœnicians had established a stronghold on the westernmost of the Azores, a full third of the distance. His prophecy is merely a shadowy remembrance, but it proves that the ancient knowledge of the West was then almost entirely forgotten.

“ The invasions by the Huns, the Vandals, the Goths, Barbarians, obliterated what was forgotten. And the early Middle Ages represent the ‘*Mar Tenebroso*,’ as the Atlantic was then called, which thus served as an impassable wall, as ‘an infernal abyss.’ Impossible thus was it that to the ears of Colón could have arrived any knowledge of the route to the New World—over the ‘Unknown Sea.’ He might have read—although, as he was an illiterate, such instructions were *a posteriori*—of

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the suspicion, the affirmation of the existence and whereabouts of the New World. That suspicion was held, besides, by all the mariners of the coast of the Peninsula and of the Western Islands, in his day. It was a rumour constantly floating in the maritime atmosphere, was a current legend in every seaport, aboard every vessel. But the real problem consisted in the realisation of the Discovery. There, in the mysterious West, existed a World, but where was that 'there'?

"And as Cristobal Colón did not sail from the Port of Palos by mere chance or accident; as he did not follow a mere 'perhaps,' calculatingly as it were; as his voyage was not one of 'exploration,' but rather, on the contrary, started straight, directly followed, and with precision arrived: how is it that Colón makes a voyage, realises it within a given time, and with precise direction? One is not treating of a rather reckless adventurer who launches timorously upon the unknown, as so many have done, and who perish or return, on the mere off-chance and hazard of succeeding, but went, deliberately, knowing what he was to find and where to find it, what he sought and where it was!

"How does Cristobal Colón *know*? as he told the Court. Does he take with him, or had he implicit confidence in, one of those pilots of the class of those who from ancient '*Gades*,' and later, when Spain was the head of the great '*Imperium*' of the Atlantic, knew and frequented all the seas and lands of the Earth? No! Then the key of his secret information, of what impelled him, of his argument, is something quite otherwise.

"And that mysterious key and explanation could indubitably only have been the map or chart and the notes of Alonso Sanchez, the Pilot of Huelva!!

"HOW THE WORK OF COLÓN WAS ACHIEVED.

"The presence of the so-called '*Genovese*' at the Monastery of '*La Rábida*,' near to Palos, has hitherto always been 'explained' in a very convenient manner, but

COLON'S SOURCE OF KNOWLEDGE

one which, because of its excessive scientific conformity, does not at all satisfy the reason.

"Colón is found at the Monastery of La Rábida—by accident! But if instead of its being a casual matter we take it that he is there quite *deliberately*, the absurdity becomes a logical and quite natural occurrence.

"The Genovese, Cristobal Colón, disregarded and laughed at in all countries—in Italy (apparently he did not offer the safe scheme to the Government of his own country, as a patriot would have done!), his native land, according to the 'Columbinos'; in France; in Portugal—his wife's home and country; in England; in Castile—Spain!—is to be found asylumed in the 'Monasterio de La Rábida'!

"The Columbian Legend explains the matter to us: it was simply an accident! But instead of that interpretation we put forward the solution of Alonso Sanchez: that which is irrational is converted at once into the logical, *ipso facto*.

"Colón, at length, desperate, convinced that it is useless to persist in the 'chimera' of trying to make anybody believe in this project of his, without any other bases or grounds but that of 'Divination'! goes to the Monastery of La Rábida, near to Huelva, to Palos! From this latter place he could easily, after crossing the river Tinto, have walked to the home of the family or relatives of Alonso Sanchez the Pilot, to tell of his tragic end, and hand to them his private papers, and sympathise!

"The 'Guardian,' or Superior, of the Monastery listens to the wonderful tale; sees with his own eyes the map or chart of Alonso Sanchez, which the Italian—under seal of confession—shows to him; calls in the 'fisico' of Palos. This person knows, as all others of the locality did, that Alonso Sanchez died at the Madeiras, after having discovered, by an accident, the New World!

"Accordingly the intelligent 'Guardian,' Friar Juan

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Perez, generally styled Juan Perez de Marchena, writes to the Queen. No longer is a mere speculation or hazy calculation being treated of, but something realisable, or at least a fact ! Empiricisms had succeeded Divinations. Millions of infidels there awaited to be converted to the doctrine of Christianity, for one thing !

“ Colón presents and discusses his conditions and terms with the Kings of Spain. He demands, at the outset, almost everything ! He does not abate his terms an item ! But his absurd pretensions reach the point of causing irritation and disgust to Their Majesties. The moment arrives at which the negotiations are broken off ! Colón threatens to leave the Court at Santa Fé (Granada) : *aut Cæsar aut nullus* is his motto. But he is stayed—everything is conceded to him !

“ How is it that this man prefers a rupture rather than give way in his unheard-of and preposterous exigencies ? What could so firmly establish such a profound self-confidence ? On what ground does he stand to be able so persistently, so imprudently, to bargain ? It is Genius the *Leyenda Columbina* explains ! But if in place of *that* we place his ‘ previous knowledge ’ of the existence of this New World, the physical certainty of the fact, then we understand why his spirits, his courage, his self-confidence, gifted with unbridled ambition and avarice—so fully afterwards demonstrated—could not abate, could not give way in the smallest degree.

“ Colón puts himself—to be able to venture upon the Expedition of Discovery—in agreement with the principal, the most wealthy citizen of Palos, Martin Alonso Pinzón. But here we have it that, suddenly, nobody can be found willing to form the crews and embark ! Royal orders and threats—all are ineffectual ! It is terror ! say the ‘ Columbinos.’ Presently Martin Alonso Pinzón makes a fresh decision. And, presently, all—even the most recalcitrant—are agreeable to go ! It is a mere accident says the Legend. But not so ! It is that Pinzón knows,

MARTIN ALONSO PINZON

as many others of the district knew, the incident of Alonso Sanchez, their compatriot ! that *he offers to go with Cristobal Colón, with the Expedition, sharing the gains and honours on equal terms with him !* even before Colón had gone to negotiate and stipulate conditions with the Crown of Castile ! It is, nothing less or more, than that Martin Alonso Pinzón has refused to assist him when Colón first returns from Santa Fé ! And, when Colón, with the titles of Viceroy and Admiral in his pocket, denied to Pinzón, ‘in firme,’ what he had already agreed upon with him at the outset, *before* he had obtained the Crown’s necessary authority ! A ‘slim,’ shady action ! ‘Genius,’ say his followers ! It is that Pinzón gives *the order* to his townsmen, his countrymen, to refuse to embark with the reputed Genovese—the foreigner !—that Cristobal Colón, now desperate, arranges satisfactory terms with Pinzón ! It is that Martin Alonso Pinzón gives the order to fit out the armada, to start !

“ We now have them, the armada, *en route* to penetrate the Unknown Occident. Colón does not vacillate about his course. Points the prow of the armada towards the Canaries, for supplies of wood, food and water. He refits. From thence, with similar confidence and precision as to the route to be followed, goes directly without hesitation, towards Hayti or Santo Domingo—for him *terra cognita ! because of the information supplied to him by Alonso Sanchez of Huelva !*

“ Now and then Pinzón and Colón consult and deliberate—mutually discuss their route. The map—*mappa mundi*—or chart passes not infrequently from the one captain to the other ; the observations and calculations as to their position are daily recorded, their conduct and course for the night duly agreed upon !

“ On the eve of their due arrival Colón issues the order to stay the course of the armada, to shorten sail, because he knew that he was close to the New World,

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and was afraid of going ashore during the obscurity of the night ! The chart of Alonso Sanchez warned him of this !

“ How does he know the place and the hour ?

“ His ‘ Genius,’ says the *Leyenda Columbina* in explanation. But ‘ *the Map* ’ ? The critics will ask what did it contain ? Whose was it ? What did that map contain, that so frequently passed from Colón to Pinzón during the voyage ?

“ Because those mutinies : that celebrated and terrifying secret conspiracy : the Spaniards—*cowardised*—threatening Colón with a tragic death ! and he sublime ! a true demi-god ! dominating them with the force of his superhuman genius : are—unfortunately for the *Leyenda Columbina*—a mere shoddy *tremolo* of the Italian opera ! but an antiquated resource of lyrical rhetoric ! something ‘ gamey,’ ridiculous, worn-out ! A farce !

“ The ‘ marineros Onubenses,’ the seamen of Huelva, habituated to African coast and Central Atlantic exploration and conquest since the famous voyage of Hanno, some 440 years B.C. ! and the most famous navigators of Europe, of the World ! something of the pirate ! fearing neither God nor Devil, were not the people to be easily cowardised !

“ Fernandez Duro has proved (*op. cit. supra*), through the evidence contained in the lawsuits initiated by Colón, that it was really and actually this same genius, the Genovese Colón, who wished *to give up the voyage* and return, confessing ‘ Failure ’ !—that it was Cristobal Colón himself who had succumbed to fear !!

“ The singularly striking and memorable words of Martin Alonso Pinzón, the audacious, skilful and valiant son of Palos—probably one of the most notable mariners of his day—remain sculptured in the egregious work of the distinguished Naval Captain and Member of the Real Academia de la Historia de Madrid referred to, and should be given due prominence in the history of this matter : FORWARDS ! FORWARDS !!

MARTIN ALONSO PINZON

“THE CIRCUMSTANCE OF ALONSO SANCHEZ IS THE ONLY REASONABLE SOLUTION.

“The Discovery of the New World without Alonso Sanchez ‘in the picture’ is the most ridiculous story of all those registered in the history of marine enterprise, of its mariners. In exchange, the solution—through Alonso Sanchez—is the golden key which readily and satisfactorily resolves everything. Without him, all is magical, illogical, improbable, mysterious, contradictory and very irrational. With him, on the contrary, everything is simple, natural, explicable and believable. With the expert pilot, Alonso Sanchez of Huelva, it is the work of an ordinary, though skilful, human being; and, as ‘chance’ proves nothing, ‘reason,’ denying the case of ‘chance,’ proclaims, as the true and only admissible one, the solution of Alonso Sanchez of Huelva.

“ARGUMENTS EMPLOYED UNTIL NOW AGAINST THE CASE OF ALONSO SANCHEZ.

“The ‘Leyenda Columbina,’ founded by Fernando Colón, from the date of its promulgation (in 1571—sixty-five years after the death of Cristobal Colón), has condemned the case for Alonso Sanchez as a calumny, invented by Spanish jealousy.

“It is well to remark that his *History* is supposed to have been first published in Italian, at Venice, in 1571, and was translated into Spanish by one Alfonso de Ulloa.

“Roselly de Lorgues designates the Alonso Sanchez case as an infamy worthy of the ‘viejo Fernando.’ But it is the case that Fernando the Catholic was not—unfortunately for Fernando Colón—the inventor of the calumny. A large number of Italians, more or less contemporaries of the event, have strongly attacked Colón. For the rest, insults are not proofs. Accusations of calumny and jealousy are mere words and nothing more.

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“ Here we have the ‘ Arguments ’ against it :

“ It is not certain, they say, because it is not proved.

“ But as it *is* to be found proved, by reason of the evidence and proofs previously alleged, that argument is without value.

“ To insist upon mathematical proof, incontrovertible, is a peregrine thing to do, almost provocative of laughter; certainly of contempt. When nothing is really known of ‘ Cristobal Colón,’ precise, undeniable and proved; when remain unknown, or at least until to-day, his country, his idiom, his occupation, his studies, his navigations, his marriages, his actual paternity, and his doings: when the real life of Cristobal Colón—or whoever he actually was—is a mystery full of very startling contradictions, of unheard-of inverisimilitudes, of stupendous incongruities, of unnumbered arbitrations: when all, absolutely everything, in him is truly chaos—because he never said, even by chance, anything that was quite true—it requires an enormous cynicism to speak of things by his name, to take the aggressive attitude, and to revert to every class of insult, certifying *the fact of Alonso Sanchez* as having been *invented* by the jealousy of Spain, inspired by the meanness of bitter envy!

“ If it be demonstrated and proved, as it yet will be, that this pseudo ‘ Genovese ’ Cristobal Colón really and actually was a Spaniard, a Gallego, born in the Galician Province of Pontevedra! which satisfactorily explains why he did not know the Italian language, but, on the other hand, knew and wrote in Castilian immediately on his arrival in the country from Portugal in 1492! had lived and married and dwelt amongst the Portuguese—yet was able to write his Diary in Spanish! If it be—as was suspected by Garcia de la Riega, the fortunate Pontevedra’s populariser of the decisive evidence and documents which prove the matter—that this great Admiral of the Indies, a Grandee of Spain as Viceroy and Admiral, *tenaciously hid*—because he was descended through his mother from Jews!

COLON A SPANIARD

and according to the testimony of his natural son and only historian, Fernando—*his origin and country!* it is not at all logical or possible baldly to reject the hypothesis of Alonso Sanchez of Huelva, because it is at the worst only a slightly 'nebulous' matter, and *because the original records made by him, and handed by him on his death-bed to Colón at Porto Santo, are wanting!*

"The 'Columbian Legend' has it: that Garci Laso de la Vega, the Inca, was the first, almost a century after the event, to bring to light the name and country of Alonso Sanchez, the Pilot of Huelva. His remarkable work was first published at Lisbon in 1609, the licence for its being published there being dated 1604.

"How did the Inca know this history, and in what circumstances?

"The Inca, Garci Laso de la Vega, knew it because he had heard it *from his father*, when a child, at Cuzco, in Peru! and from others of the famous '*Conquistadores*,' contemporaneous with the event, then living in that same city! He was a Peruvian—an Inca. Good; the conquest of Peru was made by people from Extramadura and Huelva. In the sixteenth century there still existed in the city of Huelva the *barrio*, or suburb, called '*del Peru*,' according to the archives of that city. He left his native land, Peru, in 1560, and lived at Sevilla, in Spain, until he died there, in 1616, where he wrote his remarkable record.

"The 'Columbian Legend' maintains that the various historians and chroniclers are not harmonious in their relations of this last voyage of the unfortunate Pilot of Huelva, Alonso Sanchez; some of them asserting that he was simply an Andalusian of no particular town; others again that he was a Basque or a Portuguese; others again tracing him from the Canaries; others from the Madeiras. That according to several of them his journey of 'Discovery' lasted but a few days! whilst to others, many. Some sustained that so many seamen survived the fatal journey; others more, etc.

"But these discrepancies in the details rather go to

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corroborate the real truth of the matter — that the event actually took place !

“ They demonstrate that the relation was not merely a libel, a calumny ; that it was not an invention of Spanish jealousy, bred by the Catholic King of Spain, and diligently propagated by many of his subjects. The bottom or ground work is always the same : the navigator, who arrives, having been driven by the force of a tempest of contrary winds, at an unknown island in the West, and who gives frank and full account of his wonderful experiences and in a fit of gratitude hands his records to Cristobal Colón !!

“ It is impossible, it is stated by the ancient Spanish legend, that all the mariners of the Huelva *nao* died at Madeira. Ferrer de Conto, in an extremely interesting study, which is cited with obvious and notorious bad faith by some, as being contrary and in opposition to the case of Alonso Sanchez, states that a French vessel arrived at Habana under analogous conditions to that of the *carabela* of Huelva, of Alonso Sanchez, all of whose crew died shortly after having disembarked.

“ And here have been expressed all the contrary arguments.

“ EXPLANATION WHY PUBLIC OPINION HAS UNTIL NOW BEEN INDIFFERENT, AND HAS NOT YET EVEN SETTLED THE MATTER.

“ To believe in Alonso Sanchez it is necessary to cease believing in Cristobal Colón. Here we have the true terms of the problem : Cristobal Colón is a god ; Alonso Sanchez is a myth. They are two opposed forces, as it were. Affirm and establish the one, and you necessarily destroy the other.

“ To arrive, therefore, at a belief in the Pilot of Huelva, Alonso Sanchez, it is necessary previously to know the personality of the supposed Pilot of Genova. Whilst the ‘ Leyenda Columbina ’ fascinated, meantime it enslaved all minds, all judgments ; and public opinion, being blind, disliked, detested and denied Alonso

INDIFFERENCE OF THE PUBLIC *

Sanchez. It humoured itself in acclaiming the statement of his case a calumny! It is necessary, therefore, so that public opinion should be able well and accurately to judge, to illustrate and clearly demonstrate the actual facts of the matter. The suit of the Discovery of the New World was brought into existence, as it were, in 1892. The general ignorance of everything relating to the true history of the matter explains the public indifference. Unfortunately this is not an exceptional or solitary case.

" AUTHORITIES WHO CONFIRM THE FACT.

" So great is the number of authors who affirm the case of Alonso Sanchez—most of them of emphatic distinction in the republic of learning—that it is hardly necessary here to name them individually. Many of them have already been cited. All of them examine the event very closely, discuss it, and conclude with finding it quite rational. Some of them are eminent mariners. And this they maintained even before the celebration of the 'Centenario de 1492,' when all that referred to the Discovery of the New World was but shadowy and uncertain, condemning the whole matter in the terms of Fernandez Duro, who with singular dexterity and aptitude designated it as the 'Nebulosity of Colón.'

" Only one authority need here be cited: the eminent Director of the 'Real Academia de la Historia,' of Madrid, Don Marcelino Menendez Pelayo. In his learned and searching study of the question he proclaimed that it was highly necessary that Spain, *the home of the true Discoverer of the New World, Alonso Sanchez*, the Pilot of Huelva, moving at last, for its honour, should persecute until smashed—such were his energetic and patriotic words—the 'Leyenda Columbina.'

" A FINAL ARGUMENT.

" This effort may now be terminated, being, as it were, merely an index to a more complete and exhaustive work.

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“ But before concluding one would wish to repeat the observation, principally formulated by mariners : Cristobal Colón, on leaving Hayti, or Santo Domingo, did not attempt to return to Spain by the route he had taken when going there on his first outward voyage, but resolutely and confidently steered to the North, and, with the prow of his vessel towards the Bermudas, veered to starboard and steered towards Europe. He knew his way.

“ If the Admiral went and was guided by the chart and information given to him by Alonso Sanchez ; and if he marked out this course because it was the only one which served him after many ineffectual attempts to return to Spain ‘ by somewhere and somehow,’ then nothing was more logical and reasonable than this confidence of the Genovese navigator. But if it did not thus happen—if, on the contrary, he performed his navigation by ‘ inspiration,’ by chance only, how was it he did not attempt to return by his outward route ?

“ Ah ! for the same reason that in no other quarter of Spain but Huelva could he find expert mariners who would embark with him in his enterprise, who were likely to be of practical use.

“ Once again the solution of Alonso Sanchez of Huelva serves to clear up the mystery of the ‘ Leyenda Columbina ’ to explain ‘ inexplicable ’ matters with remarkable simplicity.

“ WHAT CRISTOBAL COLÓN REALLY WAS.

“ If Cristobal Colón—whoever he may have been really, it will be said—was not the real and actual Discoverer of the New World, actually doing no more than surreptitiously re-executing what had already been performed by Alonso Sanchez of Huelva a few years before, *to his certain knowledge*, would the so-called ‘ glorious Genovese ’ remain merely a vulgar defrauder ?

“ Nothing of the kind.

“ Disesteemed by science, that which the German Professor Ruge denominated as *The Novel of his Youth*

SANCHEZ' INFORMATION

(c. 11, *Columbus*): that is, of all the doings and events of the First Admiral and Viceroy previous to the year 1492: reduced to nothing the 'scientific attainments' and ' navigations ' of Cristobal Colón: his personality does not necessarily entirely disappear—nor ever will it.

" Cristobal Colón, with the aid of Martin Alonso Pinzón (without it, he could not have done it !) realised the ' Discovery of the New World,' in the fifteenth century A.D., with the assistance of a chart or map, and information—not his own: he never mentioned the ownership or from whom he had received it. Shabby ! Sharp practice !! That chart was—according to some—that of the Doctor of Florence, an Italian named Paulo Toscanelli; according to others—*the fact of the matter*—that of the unfortunate Pilot of Huelva, Alonso Sanchez !

" But, withal, reducing the personality of the ' Genovese ' Colón to its true proportions, that is, to its human proportions, the ' dios ' converted into man is possessed of outstanding personal attributes—is a veritable Titan.

" Merely because of his novelesque aspect ; of the dramatic and mysterious circumstances of his unknown early life ; obliged to conceal, or electing to do so, at all risks, his true origin, and succeeding in doing so with wonderful art and success ; in that manner conquering the prejudices of the day ; concealing the actual origin of the Discovery, the information supplied to him by Alonso Sanchez ; inventing the maps and falsifying the chart of Toscanelli with such audacious dexterity that even to-day some people believe in it ; by his intense knowledge of men ; by his epic audacity, almost superhuman, treating with monarchs as his equals, and deceiving them ; making them even his accomplices ; threatening them on occasions, and treating the great with depreciation, from the Pope to the Kings of Castilla ; hanging *caballeros* as though they were but common foot-pads, or making them work for him as mere tools ; arrogant or humble to suit circumstances and occasion ; irreligious or fanatic, according to

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time and place ; the remarkable flexibility of his intelligence ; the depth of his acuteness ; the wonderful art of his dissimulation—make of the pseudo-Genovese, or Spaniard, not only one of the most singular and interesting of all men known to history—of whatever country—but of all time !

“ Nobody better than he knew how to adapt himself to the means and occasion, and operate and play with the hour and people. From being almost illiterate, he is converted into a literary person of fame. Expert in oceanography only by virtue of his calling as chartographer, without ever having voyaged except as a passenger from Genoa to Lisbon, probably, and from Portugal to the Madeiras eventually—he sails from Palos in the character of a captain and with the title of Admiral ! What must have been his feeling of satisfied intense egotism when he saw the pennant of an Admiral—a Grandee of Spain—flying above him ! And, losing vessels, experiencing tempests and suffering hardships ; committing the errors for which, by history, he has been reproached and punished, he constitutes himself a Master-mariner ! and leads many further important expeditions ; explores unknown seas and discovers Continents !!

“ In any case, in all circumstances, the figure of this extraordinary man stands out boldly with Cyclopiian relief. Nobody, in the course of centuries, can approach him in his greattenacity of purpose ; from 1484 until 1492 he failed to find a single supporter ! If, on occasion, he deviated from his purpose, it was by calculation and design in order that presently, when the opportunity arrived, he might reassert it still more persistently and with greater vehemence. He is, before all and above all, a character, an individuality. He died, as he had lived, a mystery to everybody. Neither did his own sons even suspect what he was, who he actually was, *or from whence he had come*. He knew how to surround himself with an ambient of mystery which shrouded him, as it were, impenetrably. He had a wife, a

COLON A GRANDEE OF SPAIN

Portuguese, and a mistress, a Spaniard ; sons by both and friends, as well as enemies. Nobody ever suspected, much less knew ! who or what he actually was !

“ More, his strength of mind and determination were such that he succeeded in being almost heroically brave. So, the Mariner, perforce, who on his first launching upon the waters of the then almost unknown Atlantic, required that Martin Alonso Pinzón should reanimate him, and restore his wasting courage and confidence, knew how to dominate and place himself before and above everything and everybody !

“ In his subsequent explorations and voyages he realises and displays true valour and prowess. And not only does he achieve them successfully, but, almost mortally infirm and worn out by tempest and fatigue, he finds sufficient valour to be able to take up his pen and relate in numberless pages and with vivid phraseology, the *Diary of His First Navigation*, the evocative and suggestive force of which can but rarely be found in a similar class of work, much less rivalling or exceeding it, in merit.”

Such, then, is the estimation of the matter of Sanchez, Pinzón and Colón, by a highly intelligent and well-informed writer of recent years, who visited and lived in the atmosphere of this famous family of ocean navigators, the Pinzóns, and, too, of the “ reputed nebulous Pilot of Huelva,” Alonso Sanchez.

NOTE :

Curiously enough, at the moment of reperusing and altering this particular passage of this MS. the writer was handed a copy of the newspaper the *Correspondencia de España* of June 5th, 1922, and to his satisfaction appeared in it the following telegram :

“ COLON ERA DE ORIGEN ARMENIO.

SE LLAMABA KHOLUMBIAN.

“ NUEVA YORK.—Un diario recoge una información procedente de Armenia, según la cual el verdadero

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nombre del descubridor de América era Kholumbian. Un grupo de sabios Arménios ha declarado que Cristobal Colón era Arménio. Existen en una de las principales ciudades Arménias varias familias con el nombre de Kholumbian y que se dicen parientes del 'GRAN GENOVES' y de la familia Española descendiente del navegante.

"Miss Olivia Hill, de Nueva York, se ha interesado en la declaración de los Arménios y vá á emprender un viaje para encontrar el manuscrito con la historia de la familia Kholumbian que fue trasladado del Monasterio de Ecmiadzin á Petrogrado durante la guerra."

Which signifies, in effect, that from New York now comes the affirmation, by cable, that Colón, *the Genovese*, is now alleged to be of *Armenian* extraction ! whether Christian or Jew it is not stated ! Such, then, is the reputation, to-day, of the "idolised Discoverer of the New World," who, according to Washington Irving and the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, was the eldest son of Dominico Columbo, a wool-stapler of Genoa !! and born in that city in or about 1435 or 1436 !

As to his having been of Armenian, or other, and of Jewish origin it is curious that in the codicil to his will of 1506 (*v. p.* 176, vol 6, *Encyclopædia Britannica*, *op. cit.*) he should have left the legacy of *half a mark of silver to a Jew who used to live at the gate of the Jewry in Lisbon ! !*

On the same page he is described : "*In person Columbus was tall and shapely, long-faced and aquiline, white-eyed and auburn haired, and beautifully complexioned*" !

A correct description of the typical Armenian Jew—the pet aversion of the Turks and of the Greeks !

In any case, this testamentary manifestation on the part of the heroic "Genovés" was either a silly caprice or a pronounced expression of sanguineous sympathy and natural preference !

Ultimately there has just fallen into my hands a

DESCRIPTION OF COLUMBUS

copy of the illustrated supplement to that excellent financial paper the *Financiero* of Madrid, addressed or dedicated to the Province of Pontevedra, published in July last, and containing a most interesting communication from Don Prudencio Otero Sanchez as to the personality of the reputed Genovese Discoverer of the New World, Christopher Columbus or Cristobal Colón, as he actually and really was. The following is a literal translation of the article referred to :

“ SPAIN : THE TRUE COUNTRY OF COLÓN.

“ The motive or reason for publishing my work with this title is, because I have acquired the firm conviction that the man who is credited with having discovered the New World had for his birth-place Spain.

“ As a proof of my own impartiality in the matter (which the Italian, Signor E. Zuccarini calls insincerity or ingenuousness), I have inserted in my own work the very meritorious effort of Señor Don Angel Altola-guirre, a Member of the Royal Academy of Spain, demonstrating that, according to the documents given by the ‘ *Raccolta Columbiana*,’ the Christofforo Colombo of Genova was the Cristobal Colón, Admiral and Viceroy of the Occidental Indies.

“ And although within the limits of a newspaper article it is difficult to convey to the mind of the reader the clear and conclusive demonstration that the genealogy of the Colombos of Italy has not, nor is, nor can be, that of those of Cristobal Colón, the true lineage of the Admiral, I will see if I can do so by extracting everything of possible use and application from both theses, so that due opinion can be formed, and triumph—that which is the more in harmony with the actual facts of the matter—the truth : truth which the author of the *Discovery of the New World* wished to occult in his own epoca, but who did not leave in his records in vain certain footprints, so that posterity could be able to occupy itself to determine what is—what was—his actual birth-place and country.”

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The following brief extracts are taken from that huge history and collection of documents published at Rome in 1896, and entitled *Raccolta di documenti e studi Pubblicate della Reale Commissione Colombiana pel Quarto Centenario dalla Scoperta dell'America*, etc., etc. Pt. 2, vol. i, pp. 120, etc.—*i.e.*, the Case for the Italians.

Nothing approaching that work in copiousness of detail has ever been issued on the part of the Spaniards—in Spanish or in English.

Otero continues : “ Leaving on one side the innumerable notarial and other official documents to be found amongst them, cited to *prove* the relationship of the Colombos of Italy with the Admiral, Cristobal Colón, we will deal with only the more essential.

“ *First Document.*—On the 21st of February, 1429, appears Giovanni Colombo di Moconesi (the supposed grandfather of the Admiral, Colón, before the Notary, Quirico di Albenga, and declares that he places his son Domenici (supposed father of the Admiral, of less than eleven years of age, as apprentice to a cloth-weaver in the factory of Domenici Bravanta.

“ *Second Document.*—On the 1st of April, 1439 (ten years after the preceding), Domenici Colombo (presumed father of the Admiral), was now a master cloth-weaver, and himself accepts as an apprentice, before the Notary, Benedetto Peloso, a son of Petro di Vercia.

“ *Third Document.*—On the 31st of October, 1470, before the Notary, Nicolo Raggio, appeared Cristofforus di Colombo, of more than nineteen years of age, together with his father, Domenici, who gave his consent and authority to his son's confessing and admitting that he (the son) owed a sum of money, balance due by him for a parcel of wine. This Cristofforus was the supposed Admiral, Colón.

“ *Fourth Document.*—On the 25th (26th) of August, 1472, before the Notary, Tomasso del Zocco, again appears the presumed Admiral Cristofforus Colombo accompanied by his father, Domenici, declaring that he owed 140 lire to Giovanni di Signorio.

DOCUMENTS AT ROME

“ *Fifth Document.*—On the 7th of August, 1473, before the Notary, Pietro Cosaro, appeared the same Cristofforus (the supposed Admiral, Colón), accompanied by his brothers, authorising their father (Domenici) to sell a house.

“ Enough of these documents to prove in the most indubitable manner, that the Cristofforus Colombo, whom the Italians wish to be the Admiral, Colón—in 1470, 1472, and 1473—he was nineteen in 1470—required the authority and consent in due form, of his father, Domenici, to dedicate himself to mercantile pursuits; that he had never left Genoa; that his grandfather, Giovanni, was a wool-carder; his father, Domenici, a cloth-weaver; and that he himself, the great Navigator, since a child dedicated himself to the same class of pursuit, calling and business.

“ It remains, then, fully demonstrated, with noon-day clearness that until 1473 the genealogy of Cristofforus Colombo comes to us perfectly connected and linked up, and without containing any seamen amongst its members from the grandfather downwards; and it will now be demonstrated with the same degree of lucidity that that genealogy has not—cannot—have anything to do with that of the Admiral and Viceroy, Cristobal Colón! That of the latter cannot, to-day, be ascertained, and one should understand that, in the circumstances, it should not even be attempted, especially as Colón himself took the greatest care that his origin should be unknown and unrecorded.

“ He (Colón) desired to conceal his actual birth-place and country at that time, but left it sufficiently clearly indicated so that, in the future, it could be proved that *Spain* and not *Italy* was the true and actual *patria* of Cristobal Colón, the First Admiral.

“ To that end and for that purpose there fortunately exist precise data, and, therefore, the genealogy of the Colombos of Genoa as regards the Discoverer of the New World, must be regarded, accepted, as merely apocryphal.

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"We may assume that everybody is agreed that, whether Italian or Spaniard, this Admiral died in May, 1506.

"Neither is there any great divergency of opinion that Colón arrived at the Convent of La Rábida, Palos, in 1484, although some few have thought that it may have been early in 1485, but quite erroneously.

"Equally, too, no doubt should exist that for about fourteen years he lived in Portugal or one of its possessions, and therefore arrived at Lisbon in 1470; but though some writers affirm that he reached there in 1476, that error is demonstrated by simply bearing in mind that when he arrived at the Convent of La Rábida there went with him, 'hand-in-hand,' his son Diego, then ten years of age, who was born at Porto Santo, in the Madeiras, between 1473 and 1474, and was begotten probably in 1472.

"It is also quite beyond controversy that he embarked or went to sea when fourteen years of age, according to his putative son, Fernando; and, before arriving at Lisbon, had been at sea for some twenty-three years without having been any particular length of time in any one single place that he could particularise, and of this the Admiral assures us, to distinguish from the six years during which he 'navigated,' from 1470 to 1476, on the coasts of Africa and Ethiopia, and the other eleven years during which he navigated between Spain and the West Indies from 1482 to 1493; because for some good reason or other he said in his letter to Their Catholic Majesties in 1503: '*I have been navigating for forty years.*'

"But, if he arrived at Lisbon in the year 1470, after having been at sea for some twenty-three years; and first embarked when fourteen years of age, how is it possible for him to be the same person who, in 1470, 1472, and 1473, according to the cited notarial documents—being then only nineteen—had never left Genoa—himself, his father and grandfather there working AS WEAVERS AND WINE DEALERS, and when the Admiral—the Italian—has declared

INCONSISTENCIES IN DATES

that he himself, like his immediate forbears, HAD BEEN MARINERS ?

“ If he were thirty-seven years old when he arrived at Lisbon in 1470—that is to say, born in or about the year 1433—although he himself declared that he was then only thirty-four, so as not to appear to be so old in the eyes of Felipa Monis de Perestrello or Perestelo, with whom he was in love and whom he married about 1472-3, how is it possible for the wool-weaver of Genoa to be the great Mariner, Navigator and Admiral, Cristobal Colón ! ! ! ?

“ In synthesis, that is what is sought to be demonstrated and proved as far as possible to the Commission of Academicians who are to come to a definite conclusion on a subject of such very great interest and importance to the glory and honour of Spain : and I am holding the firm hope and belief that it will most emphatically find and declare to the world at large *that the genealogy of the Colombos of Genoa cannot possibly be that of the Spaniard, Cristobal Colón !*

“ Finally, to demonstrate that the birth-place of that great man was *Spain* and not *Italy*, the indicating proofs which exist are so convincing that all those who are engaged in this much-vexed question will esteem them to be so, however great their prejudice in favour of the contrary.”

This testimony of Don Prudencio Otero Sanchez goes far to justify the reiteration of the term, as applied to the Discoverer of the New World, of “reputed Genovese.”

Let us now proceed to deal with a much higher authority, the remarkable but little known *Archivo de las Indias*, now happily and securely stored and accessible to all, in the “Lonja,” at Sevilla.

We will first handle the useful summary of the history, proceedings, and litigation compiled under the express authority of the “Real Academia de la Historia de

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Madrid," by Cesario Fernandez Duro, which is all contained, in detail, in the work in its library, entitled *Indice de los papeles del Consejo de Indias*, dealing first with the section called, *Libros de los Despachos de la Vireyna*.

PART II.

THE LAW PROCEEDINGS.

“ LIBRO DE DESPACHOS DE LA VIREYNA.”

Folio 1.—Compromise of the lawsuit which was dealt with by those who were appointed for the purpose by the “ Consejo de Castilla, Indias, y Inquisición.” The suit was brought by the Admiral, Don Diego Colón, whilst he lived, and afterwards by Doña Maria de Toledo, his widow, as “ tutora ” of their son, Don Luis Colón, as to a Declaration of the Capitulations and Privileges conceded by the Catholic Kings to Don Cristobal Colón. The compromise was made with the Cardinal de Santa Susana, Don Fr. Garcia de Loaisa, Bishop of Sigüenza, President of the Indies and Commissary General of the Tribunal of the “ Cruzada.”

The children of Don Diego Colón were Don Luis, Don Cristobal; Doña Felipa, Doña Maria, Doña Juana, and Doña Ysabel. He also left a widow, Doña Maria de Toledo, pregnant, as is borne out by the “ tutela,” or guardianship.

Folio 21. The compromise was made on the part of the Fiscal, the Doctor Gaspar de Montoya, of the “ Consejo de Castilla,” under the authority he held and employed, and Doña Maria de Toledo.

Folio 24.—The “ sentence ” of the Compromise contains the following chapters :

1. That to Don Luis Colón, and to his successors or heirs, remains the title of “ Admiral of the Indies, Islands, and Main-land of the Ocean Sea,” discovered and to be found, in the limits of Castilla, as used in *la Española*, and the rights corresponding, in conformity with his Privileges.

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2. That for the services of the Admiral, Don Cristobal, and in recompense of the one-tenth of the revenues and incomings conceded to him, and pretended to be his to enjoy in all the Indies, and for the salary that he (Don Luis) receives, and for all other increments that by the Capitulations he pretended to be entitled to and enjoy, there shall be destined 10,000 "ducados" of rent in the Indies, wherever the "Vireyna" might select and indicate, as a right of heritage.

3. That for the pretension to be held as "Viceroy of the Indies," and with the right and power to nominate and appoint its officers and other prominent administrators, shall be given to him, in recompense, the Island of Jamaica, called Santiago, with the title of Duke or Marquis, together with all corresponding benefits and rights, the King retaining his supremacy over them all ; and on condition that he should and could not construct any fortress without the Royal licence.

4. That he be given 25 square leagues of land in Veragua, with superior and inferior civil and criminal Jurisdiction—mere mixed "Imperio" (*mixtum imperium*) in perpetuity ; the King still retaining the supreme power. And if he preferred to take the title of Duke or Marquis of this place, instead of Jamaica, then be it so conceded.

5. That he be favoured, in perpetuity, with the office of "Alguacil Mayor" (= *accensis, et lictoribus praefectus*), an honorary post in the Tribunals of Justice, of Santo Domingo, and of its Supreme Court of Law ; and to serve to him and his substitutes with the right of voice and vote, of "regidor" (= *decurion*) when the said Admiral might please to be so served.

6. That when he or his successors might establish in the island of "Española"—where he possessed a sugar-factory or estate—a town, he should hold jurisdiction and authority over it, unless at a port.

7. That to the Admiral and his brothers should be confirmed the ownership of the lands, cultivations, and crops he or they might hold in the island of "Española."

“ VICEROY OF THE INDIES ”

8. That to Doña Maria and Doña Juana Colón, sisters of the said Don Luis, be signalized the rent, for their lives, of “ *un cuento de maravedis* ”=“ *decies centena millia* ”—a million.

9. That, with the foregoing, Don Luis renounces, or separates himself from whatever other right might be competent to him.

10. Reserves the power or right to declare, within ten days, as to any doubt that may occur respecting the significations of this sentence.

Folio 27. Given and pronounced in Valladolid on the 28th of June, 1536, and consented to by both parties.

Folio 28. By virtue of the reservation of the right to declare as to this sentence, the Cardinal, for his part, declared :

1. That the office of Admiral be used as in the case of that of Castilla.

2. That the 10,000 “ ducados ” be paid in gold, or in the money which might be current in the locality the receivers should be in at the time, and of the value of 10,000 “ ducados de oro.”

3. That the grant of the island and lands of Veragua be estimated to be given with full enjoyment of the mines and minerals, gold and silver, and lands and pastures, and whatever other things and benefits His Majesty might therein possess and hold, His Majesty remaining only with the supreme jurisdiction, and nothing else.

4. That the 25 square leagues (=48,000 acres) should be set or marked out by two persons nominated and appointed by the two parties, and to be commenced at any point they liked along the coast, measuring it out in straight lines from start to finish, and so that it formed one single and continuous block ; and if the two persons so nominated did not agree, then the “ Audiencia ” (the High Court) of Santo Domingo should appoint a third.

5. That the “ *un cuento de maravedis* ” (a million) be paid as from the day and date of this sentence, and when the said Doña Maria and Doña Juana should elect to receive it.

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Given and pronounced on the 7th of July, 1536.

All this was confirmed by the Emperor, by a "Provision," given at "Campo Azaes," on the 8th of September, 1536.

1537. Folio 33. Grant of the 10,000 "ducados" which make or are equal to 3 q. 750,000 maravedis of the rents of the island of "Española." At Valladolid, on the 19th of January, 1537.

Folio 39. Grant of the island of Jamaica, with the title of Marqués de la Vega, which is a place in the island called "Sevilla," the name having been since changed. Date *ut supra*.

Folio 46. Grant of the town to be founded on the estate, in conformity with the 6th chapter of the "Sentence." Date *ut supra*.

Folio 51. Grant of the 25 square leagues of land in the Province of Veragua, with the title of Duque—Duke. Date *ut supra*.

Folio 59. Grant of the "Alguacilazgo" = Praefecture, of Santo Domingo, and its "Chancilleria." Date *ut supra*.

Folio 63. Grant of the offices of "Alguacil Mayor" of the cities, towns, and places of the island of "Española," now and to be populated in perpetuity, augmenting that which is contained in the Sentence, by special favour. Date *ut supra*.

Folio 66. Grant of the lands, cultivations, and pasturage, in conformity with the 7th capital of the Sentence. Date *ut supra*.

Folios 67 and 70. Grant to Doña Juana de Toledo of 500,000 maravedis, for her life, as corresponding (to satisfy) to the island of San Juan; and an equal sum, there also, to Doña Maria Colón. Date *ut supra*.

Folio 74. That the Admiral might nominate the persons to be designated by the King to the Abbey, dignities and canonries of Jamaica, in the case of there not being *hijos patrimoniales* = legitimate successors, of the said Island, to be provided for. At Valladolid, 17th February, 1537.

VARIOUS GRANTS

Folio 75. That there not being sufficient in the "Española" with which to pay the 10,000 ducados, the amount should be satisfied from another place. Date *ut supra*.

Folio 80. That no "Gobernador" enter into the territory which is ceded to the Admiral, in Veragua. At Valladolid, 9th of March, 1537.

Folio 82. Title of Admiral of the Indies, to be there enjoyed by him similarly as the Admiral of Castilla enjoys his title in Spain. At Valladolid, the 24th of March, 1537.

Folio 87. Grant of the "Capilla Mayor"—presbitery and chief chapel, of the Metropolitan Church, which then was the Cathedral of Santo Domingo. At Valladolid, the 2nd of June, 1537.

Folio 88. Grant to the "Vireyna"—wife of the Viceroy—Doña Maria de Toledo, of 4,000 gold ducats for four years, payable in the island of Española, to assist her in the costs of her litigation. At Valladolid, the 6th November, 1537.

Folio 89. Grant to the "Vireyna" of 1,000 gold ducats, for her life, payable in "Española."

1540. Folio 94. As to the first clause of the said "Compromise" and its declaration, a new or further declaration was sought, and again appeared in it the said Cardinal, and Don Francisco de los Cobos, "Comendador Mayor" of Leon, Adelantado of Cazorla, Señor de Saviote, of the Council of State and "Contador Mayor" of Castile; and the "Compromiso" and "Sentencia" were approved of and inserted in a "Provision Real" with the following *capítulos*, or clauses:

1. That Don Luis Colón and his successors hold the office of Admiral, and use it, himself and his lieutenants, in the same manner as the Admiral of Castile does in the Port of Muelas in Sevilla; and also use it in the Port of Santo Domingo in "Española"; and in Puerto-Rico; and in the Port of Santiago of the Island of Cuba; and in the Ports of Jamaica; and in that of "Nombre de Dios"; and in one Port of the Province of Veragua, which he should select and nominate within the period of

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ten days ; and in the Port of Santa Maria, or in that of Cartagena—whichever of them he should elect to choose within the space of ten days, and none other.

2. That besides the use of the said office, in the said three ports of “ *Española*,” “ *San Juan*,” and “ *Cuba*,” he should and could, in all the ports of the said three islands, receive the Port Duties on all vessels there arriving, similarly as the Admiral of Castilla enjoys in the Port of Muelas ; and as he will have to receive them in those said three ports wherein he shall possess jurisdiction.

3. That besides holding the office and jurisdiction, and receiving the taxes or port dues pertaining to him in each of the said ports and places, and when he might be present in whichever of the ports of the said three islands, wherein only he has to receive the port dues, and in all others of the Indies in which he holds the title of Admiral in perpetuity, for the period during which he might be living in any one port only, personally, and in no other could he use in it the office of Admiral and its jurisdiction, for himself and his lieutenants, and take and receive the dues established as he might have the right to, in the ports of Santo Domingo, San Juan, and Santiago.

4. That he be given and provided with the tariff of the duties which are collected by the Admiralty in Sevilla, for them to be observed and enforced in the said ports, and where else he may have jurisdiction and receive the rights or duties.

5. That the judicial fees and rights shall be received by him in conformity with the schedule or tariff corresponding to the “ *Alcaldes Ordinarios* ” of each port.

6. That he and his successors in the family estates hold the title of Admiral, perpetually, or in perpetuity, of all the Indies discovered and to be found ; for in that style to be so entitled and known, but so that the use and exercise of it be of no greater degree, nor exercised in any other ports than those already declared and set apart for the purpose.

TOLLS AND TARIFFS

7. That if either the Admiral or his successors contravene the terms of this "Concierto," then he and they shall lose the office in the ports and places mentioned. And, on the other hand, if the Crown failed, then the Admiral should be paid 50,000 "Castellanos."

Given and pronounced at Madrid on the 5th February, 1540.

In virtue of the terms of the first "Capitulo" the 'Vireyna," in the name of the Admiral, her son, selected the Puerto de Santa Marta; and in Veragua, as its ports were unpopulated, protested that there the authority and office would not exist until necessary, but she would name and indicate the place where the officers of the King might reside.

1541. Folio 101. The 25 leagues at Veragua shall be estimated as from the river Belén inclusive, along its parallel as far as the western point of the Bay of Carabaro; and from thence by meridian inland; and it was ordered to be so observed, by *Cédula* of 15th April, 1541.

Folio 103. Licence to the Admiral to build a fortress in the Province of Veragua within the limits of his 25 leagues, of the 22nd of June, 1541.

Folio 103. Licence to construct a fortress in Jamaica of the same date.

Folio 103. To enable him to know and to determine the *Derechos*, or port or harbour duties which the Admiral might receive and collect in the Indies, the *Arancel*, or schedule, was obtained of those which the Admiral of Castilla collected at Sevilla, with information as to those in actual use and in force, made by the "Casa de la Contratación" there (a Trinity House), and were brought in at the instance of the Queen, Doña Juana. Given at Burgos on the 6th of March, 1512, and signed by the King, Don Fernando.

The *derechos*, or port dues, are:

From every vessel leaving the river at Sevilla, 20 "maravedis" per ton, but however large the vessel the amount should not exceed, in total, the sum of 3,000 maravedis.

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For every “tonel ” (=about a ton weight) taken from Sevilla or its vicinity, filled with merchandise, 8 maravedis ; and when empty, that which it would be liable to pay when loaded.

For every vessel of 100 tons which discharges or takes ballast in the river, 5 “ reales de plata ” (=25d.) ; and if of less size, then proportionally.

For every jar or cask of oil or wine, 5 “ blancas ” ; and of cork-wood and “ yeso ”—gypsum—that might be placed in each vessel, 1 maravedi, to the person the Admiral might send or place there [on board as though a Custom House officer—ED.]

For anchorage or mooring, for each vessel exceeding 100 tons, 450 maravedis ; those of less size to pay proportionately to their tonnage.

For each quintal of *cañamo*—hemp cordage—untarred, 25 maravedis, and also of *estopa*—oakum—when not being for the service of the vessel itself.

For each “ cahiz ” (=about 12 bushels) of wheat, for export outside the kingdom, 71 maravedis ; and for the interior, 40 ; and if for the “ condado ” of Niebla or the district of Cadiz, 34 maravedis ; and if of barley, then at one-half of those rates respectively.

For every “ arroba ” (=25 pounds) of flour, for export to the Rio a “ blanca ” (=half a maravedi, a mite).

For every quintal of “ biscocho ” (ship’s biscuit) taken out of deposit for sale, two and a half maravedis ; but if for service of ships, one maravedi and a half.

For each quintal of iron—worked—or for treatment outside the kingdom, 5 maravedis ; and if for within, 3 maravedis.

For every “ frangote ” or “ baleta de grana ” (=bale or package of seed), 10 maravedis.

For every bale of wool, 6 maravedis.

From every fishing-boat laden with sardines from the region of the Archbishopric of Sevilla, the Bishopric of Cadiz, and from Portugal, 1,200 sardines ; and from Galicia—even although a “ nao ” (ship)—an equal number.

THE RIGHTS OF THE ADMIRAL

From each vessel with oysters from within the Archbishopric, 50 oysters ; and from beyond, 100 oysters.

From each vessel with " almejas " (shellfish, cockles), 500 of them.

For every licence to a vessel or small craft which had not already paid the fees for anchorage, or despatch, or ballast, 4 maravedis.

For each quintal of " jabon " (soap), one and a half maravedis.

The fine for not paying and satisfying such charges is to pay them seven-fold on discovery ; and the officials of the Admiral are authorised to enforce execution for their satisfaction and payment.

Folio 108. By Decree of the " Consejo de Indias," in Madrid, of the 14th of June, 1541, it was ordered to give a " Letter of Accomplishment "—" Carta de Cumplimiento"—of the said " Arancel," or tariff, by which, as the people of Sevilla and its Archbishopric and the Bishopric of Cadiz do not pay what is chargeable for ships' stores, nor " de casa movida," the said Admiral of the Indies should not charge such duties to the people of the Bishoprics of Española, Tierra-firme (the Main), Santa Maria, Cuba, and San Juan, save only 4 maravedis for a licence to each passenger.

Folio 109. To this " Auto," or Decree, the Fiscal appealed, and it was confirmed, with a certain Declaration which does not concern this matter, on the 18th of June, 1541.

1542. Folio 110. The Vireyna renounced, in favour of her daughter, Doña Maria Colón, the 1,000 ducats for her lifetime ; and they were ordered to be paid on the 7th July.

The second " Compromiso," or Agreement, was made because the Admiral, having presented in Santo Domingo the collection of the " provision," or " dues," of his Admiralty, they were appealed against, and a " Cédula," or Order, was despatched that they should not be recognised or complied with ; and as to this matter there was a lawsuit, which was arranged by the Cardinal and Cobos.

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Folio 118. The Admiral, by virtue of the said Agreement and Sentence, applied to be granted "provision" or authority to use and enforce equally as the jurisdiction that the Admiral of Castile used in the Puerto de las Muelas ; and it having been ordered that the officials of Sevilla should furnish information about the matter, and that having been made and considered, it was declared :

1. That the said Admiral might nominate and appoint a principal Lieutenant-Admiral to act for him, and to have voice and vote in the Assemblies of the cities and towns of the indicated ports, the Admiral himself not being then and there present ; but being there, he, the Admiral himself, should act only.

2. That an "Alcalde de la Mar," or Justice of Marine, be appointed, who should deal with the civil and criminal causes affecting or relative to the jurisdiction of the Admiralty, and could form and make a Court of trial, and hear and deal with the various actions or proceedings affecting or pertaining to the said jurisdiction.

3. That he might appoint an "Alguacil," or High Constable, who should bear and take the "Staff of Justice" (official emblem), and carry out the orders of the said Admiral, and of his Lieutenant-Admiral, and of the Justice of Marine.

4. That he have a prison wherein he might have confined all persons apprehended by him (the Admiral) and his aforementioned officers.

5. That the said Admiral, and his Lieutenant and the Justice of Marine, should have cognisance of all the offences, of whatever nature, committed on the seas and in the harbours and rivers of the said ports, as well on the land as on the water, and all places or shores watered by the said rivers ; and convict and condemn the offenders with the penalties he held to correspond, both corporal and pecuniary.

6. That the sentences which shall be dictated in these cases shall be executed by the "Alguacil," or High Constable, where the law authorized him, publicly.

7. That he be allowed a gallows and gibbet for the

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carrying out of the sentences, to be placed on the beach of the sea or rivers.

8. That he, his Lieutenant, or Marine Justice, determine all civil actions at law concerning the navigation of the rivers and seas of the said ports ; and such as barques, naves, " carabelas " (three-masted vessels), " galeras," " carracas," " fustas " (small lateen-rigged vessels), " bergantines " (two masted vessels, brigs), and other navigating craft, and of their outfit and cargos and stores ; and between masters and crews ; and of all things touching navigation.

9. That all those civil and criminal actions and proceedings shall, in the first instance, be dealt with by the said Marine Justice, from whom appeal may be made to the Lieutenant or to the Admiral ; and against his decision or judgment appeal may be had to the King.

10. That the said Lieutenant Admiral may also deal with, in the first instance, the said actions and law-suits ; and from his decision appeal may be made to the said Admiral, being at the time at the Indies ; and afterwards to the King.

11. That in those cases which the said Admiral may deal with, in the first instance, appeal may be had to His Majesty.

12. That the Admiral or his Lieutenant may appoint the necessary scriveners for the Courts of Law.

13. That instead of by the Crown the appeals from the Admiral's Court may be heard by the Presidents of the Courts of Santo Domingo and of Panamá, each at the port concerned or corresponding. And if any of those Presidents should be Clericals, the criminal cases shall be taken by the oldest Judge ; and similarly, too, in civil cases where there were no Presidents.

At Monzon, on the 7th of July, 1542.

1556. Folio 121. Licence to the Admiral to have 200 slaves, free of tax, on account of the 500 conceded him amongst other things in exchange for a compensation for what he had given up in the Indies, of which even now the formal documents have not been made out.

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The 9th of June.

Folio 122. Faculty that the Admiral renounce in favour of the King all that which had been declared. The 24th of June.

Folio 125. Licence to the Admiral for other 300 slaves, on the before-mentioned account. The 24th of June.

Folio 136. From the Decree last given as to the second Compromise and the execution of its "Capitals," or Articles, the City of Santo Domingo and the Fiscal of the Council appealed, and by Decree made at Valladolid on the 24th of January, 1554, which is contained in the Decree made on the last-mentioned agreement or pact ; the said Decrees were ordered to be observed except only as regards that referring to the jurisdiction of the *Segunda Instancia*, wherein it was ordered that on the part of the Admiral he should state and declare his decision within six days ; and the matter was received for approval and approbation, and was confirmed, on consideration, on the 17th February, 1554.

Soon afterwards the Admiral requested licence to obtain people from these kingdoms with the object of colonising the 25 leagues of land he possessed at Veragua ; and seeing the difficulty and cost that would occasion, and the embarrassments that were being placed in the execution of the office of Admiral, the said Don Luis Colón determined to renounce all that he possessed in the Indies on his being given adequate recompense, as to which the following was treated of and agreed to with the Council of the Indies :

1. That Colón ceded and transferred to the King the Dukedom, lands, and estate of Veragua, together with everything pertaining to it.

2. That he renounces the offices of "Alguacil Mayor" and "Menor," which he holds in the Island of "Española," retaining only the right to attend the Councils, with vote of "regidor" (alderman) as done hitherto.

- 3 That he renounces all due to him as Admiral, with

COLON'S RENUNCIATION

the criminal and civil jurisdiction of all stages, for the King to dispose and dictate as he should think fit, remaining only with the title of Admiral to him and to his successors in his house and heritage.

In recompense therefor he is to be conceded :

1. 7,000 ducats in rent annually, in the " Española," or other place ; and if these things were not always forthcoming, then to be paid in the same form as the 1,000 ducats ; and that the 7,000 be paid to him in his life, of the customs duties of the Indies, or of the gold and silver which comes from thence for the King, to his house, and to his successors in the said Indies, in good money of gold and silver.

2. That to him be given of the cattle that His Majesty has in " Española," on the river Zoco, up to 20,000, but no more, to be valued as shall be indicated ; the value of which is to be paid by the said Admiral within ten years ; and this money shall be invested in perpetual rent in these Kingdoms, and be subrogated in the estate of the said Admiral as shall appear convenient to the Council of the Indies ; and also shall be given over with the cattle the estates whereon they are, sheds, hay stores, yards, agricultural implements, growing crops, slaves and all appurtenances, he paying to the King the amount they shall be valued at ; and deducting it from the 10,000 ducats which he collects or receives from the Island of " Española."

3. That he be conceded the title of Duque de la Vega, which is a locality in Jamaica.

4. That besides the before-mentioned, which has all to be incorporated with the " Mayorazgo " (the entailed estate), he shall be given by the King 500 licences for slaves to pay his debts.

The Admiral made the renunciation and fully transferred it, the faculty included, by contract extended at Valladolid, the 4th of July, 1556, before Ochoa de Luyando, Scrivener to the King.

And it was approved and confirmed by Royal Decree, covering everything, at Ghent, the 28th September, 1556.

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Folio 148. The 7,000 ducats, for his life, were ordered to be liberated to him, of the "almojarifazgo," or Customs, of the Indies, on the 2nd December.

Folio 149. Licence to transfer 400 slaves, in three years, for being obliged to pay 3,600 ducats above the 10,000 ducats which he has in the "Española," on the 2nd December.

Folio 150. Ordering the sale of the 20,000 cows that the proceeds be subrogated in the entailed estate, on the same date.

Folio 155. Of the 7,000 ducats which he collected at Sevilla, he sold to the King 1,000, as a "quit-rent," or annuity, payable at once—*censo al quitar*, for 9,000 ducats, which he gave in slave-licences. And by Decree of the Council of the Indies of the 20th May, 1557, it was ordered that after the decease of the said Don Luis Colón, there should not accrue to his heirs more than the 6,000 ducats, because during his life the Exchequer was charged with their payment, being situated within the Customs of the Indies in Sevilla, of which there is "Cedula" of the 20th May, 1557.

Folio 160. Title of Duque de la Vega, at Valladolid, 26th March, 1557.

Folio 161. The allocation of the 10,000 ducats to the "Española," was now made as to the Main-land for six years. On the 26th March, 1557.

Folio 163. "Cedula," or warrant, for him to have voice and vote as a municipal magistrate (alderman) in the Councils of "Española." On the 2nd of September, 1557.

Folio 168. The 500,000 maravedis which Doña Maria Colón held in the Island of San Juan, to be translated to the Main-land, she now being Marquesa de Guadaleste. 21st of January, 1558.

Folio 170. The 500,000 maravedis of Doña Juana de Toledo, also to be allocated to the Main-land. The same date. She was the wife of Don Luis de la Cueva.

Folio 173. On account of the inferior money in which

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the 10,000 ducats were paid him in the "Española," Don Luis Colón brought an action ; and by arrangement its allocation and its payment were passed to the Mainland ; and for the loss and damages caused him he was awarded 1,000 slave-licences, 300 of them "de gracia" (free of cost) and the 700 others at the price of 30 ducats each, or 21,000 ducats, payable in four years, above the 10,000 ducats which were translated to Panamá. On the 3rd September, 1564.

Folio 202. The 500,000 maravedis of Doña Juana de Toledo were now allocated to her daughter, Doña Juana de la Cueva, for her life. On the 4th of March, 1572.

Folio 204. The Admiral, Don Luis Colón, died on the 3rd of February, 1572, as appears by the "Cedula" of the 15th June, 1574.

Folio 206. Doña Felipa Colón, daughter of the deceased Don Luis Colón, solicited the allocation of the 7,000 ducats, less the 1,000 of sold annuity ; and they were assigned to Panamá. The 2nd of October, 1574.

Folio 212. The Licentiate Francisco, Marques de Villalobos, was established or appointed by the King to Abad, Jamaica, in 1581, but it does not state in whose place, nor that it was made on the nomination of the Duque, Marques of Jamaica ; and that it was the year 1600, and with much approbation or satisfaction.

Folio 225. During the course of the lawsuit in respect of the State of Veragua, the King ordered a Governor to be appointed to Jamaica, and the Council of State nominated Don Fernando Melgarejo de Córdoba, in the year 1596, with the salary of 300,000 maravedis—allocated, for payment, to Panamá, which sum was subsequently ordered to be 1,500,000 maravedis.

As to the papers and documents made use of by him, obtained from the "Archivo de las Indias," Fernandez Duro gives us the following very valuable "Index." No doubt, out of this immense mass of record he has extracted the more interesting and important details, but

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it would be as well, probably, if each and every one of them were translated in full.

He has it :

INDEX

OF THE FILES OR BUNDLES OF PAPERS AND PROCEEDINGS OF THE LAWSUITS BETWEEN THE ADMIRALS OF THE INDIES, DON DIEGO AND DON LUIS COLÓN, WITH THE FISCAL OF THE KING, OBTAINED FROM THE ARCHIVO DE LAS INDIAS, TO WHICH PLACE THEY WERE RETURNED.

INFORMATION AND TESTIMONY AS TO HOW THE ADMIRAL AND THOSE WHO WERE WITH HIM DISCOVERED THE MAIN-LAND.

On board the “ carabela ” *Niña*, which has for name also that of *Santa Clara*, on Thursday, the 12th of June, 1494, at the requisition of the very magnificent Señor, Don Cristobal Colón, Chief Admiral of the Ocean, Viceroy and Governor, in perpetuity, of the Island of San Salvador, and of the other isles and Main-land discovered and to be discovered, Fernan Rodriguez de Luna, Public Scrivener of the City of Isabela, took information from witnesses as to how the Main-land was discovered on the second voyage of the said Admiral. Declared :

1. Francisco Niño, pilot of the “ carabela,” *Niña*, of Moguer.
2. Alonso Medel, master of the same vessel, of Palos.
3. Johan de la Cosa, chartographer, a mariner of the said vessel, a resident of Puerto de Santa Maria, of Santoña.
4. Johan del Barco, mariner, of Palos.
5. Moron, mariner, of Moguer.
6. Francisco de Lepe, mariner, of Moguer.
7. Diego Beltran, mariner, of Moguer.
8. Domingo Genoves.
9. Estéfano Veneciano.
10. Juan de España, a Basque.

WITNESSES IN THE LAWSUIT

11. Gomez, ship's caulker, of Palos.
12. Ramiro Perez, of Lepe.
13. Mateo de Morales, of Ceuta.
14. Juan del Puerto.
15. Gonzalo Vizcaino, ship's boy.
16. Alonso de Huelva, ship's boy.
17. Francisco Genoves, of Cordoba.
18. Rodrigo Moguer, of Moguer.
19. Rodrigo, a caulker, of Cartaya.
20. Alonso Niño, of Moguer.
21. Juan Vizcaino.
22. Bartolomé Perez, pilot of the " carabela " *San Juan*,
of Rota.
23. Alonso Perez Roldan, master of that vessel, of
Malaga.
24. Alonso Rodriguez, boatswain of the *Niña*, of
Cartaya.
25. Johan Rodriguez, mariner of the " carabela," *San*
Juan, of Ciudad-Rodrigo.
26. Sebastian de Ayamonte, mariner, of Ayamonte.
27. Diégo del Monte, mariner, of Moguer.
28. Francisco Calvo, mariner, of Moguer.
29. Fernando Martin Gutierrez, mariner, of Palos.
30. Juan Albarrasque, mariner, of Puerto de Santa
Maria.
31. Nicolas Estéfano, mariner, of Mallorca.
32. Cristobal Vivas, ship's boy, of Moguer.
33. Rodrigo Santander, ship's boy, of Moguer.
34. Juan Garcia, ship's boy, of Ucas.
35. Pedro de Salas, ship's boy, of Lisbon.
36. Hernando Lopez, ship's boy, of Huelva.
37. Cristobal Perez Niño, master of the " carabela "
Cardera, of Palos.
38. Fenerin Genoves, boatswain of the same vessel.
39. Gonzalo Alonso Galleote, mariner, of Huelva.
40. Juan de Jerez, mariner, of Moguer.
41. Francisco Carral, mariner, of Palos.
42. Gorjón, mariner, of Palos.
43. Johan Griego, mariner, of Genova.

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44. Alonso Perez, mariner, of Huelva.
 45. Juan Vizcaino, mariner, of Cartava.
 46. Cristobal Lorenzo, ship's boy, of Palos.
 47. Francisco de Medina, ship's boy, Moguer.
 48. Guillelmo, ship's boy, of Palos.
 49. Diego Leal, of Moguer.
 50. Francisco Niño, ship's boy, of Palos.
 51. Tristan, ship's boy, of Valduerna.
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All declared that they had never seen or heard of an island which extended on one coast from east to west, 335 leagues, and still undetermined in length, estimating therefore that the land now before them was the mainland. It was the Island of Cuba.

The testimony is contained on two leaves or eight pages.

(This document is given by Navarrete in his *Coleccion Diplomatica*.)

Roll 2. Packet 1. 68 leaves.

FIRST PROOFS OF THE ADMIRAL OF THE INDIES.

In the city of Santo Domingo, on the 17th of June, 1512, before the Licentiate Juan Ortiz de Matienzo, Judge in Residence, the following witnesses made declaration on the Interrogatory of eleven questions :

1. Alonso Sanchez, ship-master, of Sevilla.
2. Gonzalo Camacho, of Sevilla.
3. Jacome Génovés, mariner, of Palos.
4. Bartolomé Garcia Génovés, mariner.
5. Hernan Perez, of Santo Domingo.
6. Pedro de Sacado, *idem*.
7. Andres de Cordoba, *idem*.
8. Andres del Corral, of Sevilla.
9. Diego Gomez, mariner, of Palos.
10. Francisco de Farias, of Sevilla.
11. Juan de Santander, of Santo Domingo.
12. Alonso de Leon.

WITNESSES IN THE LAWSUIT

13. Alonso Texero, of Santiago.
 14. Rodrigo de Escobar, *idem*.
 15. Juan Grande, of Palos.
 16. Bernaldo de Ybarra, of Santiago.
 17. Ramiro de Ramírez, of Corcubion.
 18. The Licentiate Pacheco, of Bonao.
 19. Pedro de Arroya, of Concepcion.
 20. Francisco de Terrero, of Concepcion.
 21. Pero Mateos, of Higüey.
 22. Esteban Mateos, son of Pedro, *idem*.
 23. Juan Farfan, *idem*.
 24. Francisco Marquez, of Palos.
 25. Alonso Triana, ship-master.
 26. Bartolome Roldán, pilot, of Palos.
 27. Cristobal Suarez, ship-master, of Sevilla.
 28. Francisco de Rada, of Puerto de Santa Maria.
 29. Alonso Quintero, of Palos.
 30. Rodrigo Vergayo, of Lares.
 31. Alonso de Almagro, of Almagro.
 32. Alonso Martin, of Palos.
 33. Pedro de las Infantas.
 34. Diego Delgado.
 35. Juan de Jerez.
 36. Alonso Ruiz, carpenter.
 37. The "Adelantado," Don Bartolomé Colón.
 38. Rodrigo de Bastidas.
 39. Juan Viñas, mariner.
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In the city of Sevilla on the 3rd of January, 1514, before the Commissioner ("Bachiller"), Pero Martinez de Peñalver, the following witnesses also made declarations on the said "Interrogatories":

40. Gonzalo Camacho Escudero, of Sevilla.
41. Baltasar Calvo, tailor, of Sevilla.
42. Juan de Noya, cooper, of Sevilla.
43. Martin de Arriera, cooper, of Sevilla.
44. Joan Quintero, pilot, of Sevilla.

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45. Diego Martin Barranco, mariner, of Palos
 46. Diego Hernandez Cabezudo, boatswain, of Palos.
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In the city of Santo Domingo, on the 10th of November, 1513, and before the Licentiate, Juan Ortiz de Matienzo, “ juez e oidor ” (=magistrate), the following persons declared :

47. Pedro de Soria, of San Juan.
 48. Pedro Sanchez del Castillo, pilot, of Palos.
 49. Bartolomé Ruiz, of Moguer.
 50. Juan de Valencia, of Villanueva de Yaquino.
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Roll 2. Packet 2 : 19 leaves.

SECOND PROOF OF THE ADMIRAL DE LAS INDIAS.

In the city of Santo Domingo on the 5th September, 1514, before the Licentiate Pero Ybañez, Judge in Residence, the following were examined on the Interrogatory of eleven questions :

1. Rodrigo Alvarez, of Palos.
 2. Pedro de Toledo, of Yepes, 42 years of age.
 3. Juan Ferron, of the montaña near to the “ Valle de Cobre,” 30.
 4. Pedro de las Casas, of Tarifa, 50.
 5. Rafael Castaño, 40.
 6. Diego de Alvarado, 50.
 7. Juan de Rojas, 45.
 8. Garcia Alonso, 40.
 9. Alonso Diaz, caulker, of Palos, 30.
 10. Carlos de Fontiveros.
 11. Frey Rodriguez, 62.
-

Roll 2. Packet 3.

PROOF MADE AT THE TOWN OF PALOS AT THE REQUISITION OF THE ADMIRAL OF THE INDIES.

In the town of Palos, before the Licentiate, Francisco de Lerma, Mayor by Royal Decree ; and before Alonso

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Herrandez Sanabria, Public Scrivener of that place ; before Herran Gutierrez, a citizen of Sevilla, substitute " Procurador " of Luis de Soria, Canonigo of the Santa Yglesia of Sevilla ; " Procurador " of the Señor Don Diego Colón, Almirante Mayor, Viceroy and Governor, in Perpetuity, of the islands, Indies, and Main-land of the Ocean Sea, with Power of Attorney, dated at Sevilla, the 21st April of 1509, in virtue of a Warrant of the Queen, Doña Juana, sealed with a Royal Seal in red wax, emanated from the High Council, dated at Madrid on the 3rd of May, 1514, in the pending lawsuit, on the Interrogatory of fourteen questions as to the government and control which the said Admiral solicits in the " island of Darien," and as to other matters and reasons, the following witnesses declared :

7. Alonso Rodriguez de la Calva, of Palos.
8. Diego Prieto.
9. Pero Anriquez, of Palos.
10. Bartolome Colón.
11. Andres Martin de la Horda.
12. Cristobal Gomez.
13. Diego Bermudez.
14. Juan Quintero Principe.

The testimony of this proof is signed by the said Licentiate, de Lerma, and signed and sealed by the Scrivener, Sanabria, on twenty-three sheets or leaves ; and at the city of Medina del Campo on the 22nd of March, 1515, it was presented to the Royal Council, by Juan de la Peña, in the name and on behalf of the Admiral.

PROOF MADE AT THE CITY OF HUELVA AT THE REQUEST OF HERNAN GUTIERREZ, IN THE NAME OF THE ADMIRAL.

Before the very learned Bachelor of Arts, Juan Perez de Vergara, Chief Mayor of the Condado de Niebla, and of this City, together with the villages or towns of Bolullos and Aljaraque, in representation of the illus-

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trious and very magnificent Señor Don Alonso Perez de Guzmán, Duke of the City of Medina-Sidonia ; and in the presence of Pero Diaz de los Rios, Public Scrivener of the said City ; and at the request of Hernan Gutierrez, Substitute-Procurator, on the 21st of February, 1515, declaration and proof was made by the witnesses following :

15. Diego Rodriguez Ximón, of Palos.
16. Ruy Hernandez, of Huelva.
17. Pedro Coronel, of Sevilla.

And at the foot of these names the following note :
“ This is the original proof written or extended on three leaves of paper, in addition to which is a page exhibiting the name and the seal of the said Scrivener. The document was presented to the Council by Juan de la Peña, at Medina del Campo, on the 22nd of March, 1515.”

PROOFS TAKEN AT THE CITY OF MOGUER.

In the city of Moguer which pertains to the Very Magnificent Señor Don Pedro Portocarrero, on the 12th of February, 1515, before the noble and virtuous Señor the Licentiate Rodrigo Guillen, Corregidor and Senior Judge of the said city, in the presence of Alonso Pardo, Public Scrivener of the said place, by Fernan Gutierrez, Substitute-Procurator of the Admiral Don Diego Colón, were examined, and declared, the following witnesses :

18. Juan Rodriguez Cabezudo.
19. Martin Gonzalez, biscuit maker.
20. Pablo Martin.
21. Cristobal de Triana.

The testimony of this proof is written and extended on nine sheets of paper signed by the said Corregidor, and “ signado ” by the Scrivener. After it was finished, on the 13th of February, another witness was presented to the Procurator :

22. Alonso Pardo, Public Scrivener and resident of Moguer,

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whose testimony appears written on the last of the nine leaves or pages of the aforementioned document, occupying two leaves more, and is signed at the foot by the said Corregidor and the declarant.

PROOF MADE IN THE TOWN OF SEVILLA OF THE ISLAND OF JAMAICA.

Before the honoured Señor Gonzalo Perez, the Mayor, at the request of Anton de Burguillos, in the name and on behalf of the Admiral Don Diego Colón, declared :

23. Cristobal Garcia.
24. Juan Grande.
25. Juan Bermudez.
26. Benito de San Valenciano.
27. Pedro Ladrón.
28. Francisco Hernandez.
29. Diego Rodriguez.
30. Francisco de Mena.

This testimony is signed by the said Gonzalo Perez, Mayor in Ordinary of the town of Sevilla, and sealed by the Scrivener, Alonso de Paredes ; written on sixteen leaves of full sheets, it was presented by Juan de la Peña to the Royal Council, at Madrid, on the 20th of October, 1516.

PROOF MADE IN THE ISLAND OF CUBA.

In the town of Guanabo in the neighbourhood of the city of S^t Spiritus on the 17th of March, 1515, before the honoured Francisco de Salceda, Mayor ; and in the presence of Alonso del Castillo, Public Scrivener, at the instance of Andrea Colón, a resident of the Island of Cuba, Procurador of the Admiral Don Diego Colón, declared the following witnesses :

31. Juan del Castillo.
32. Cristobal Rodriguez.

This testimony is signed by the Mayor, Francisco de Salceda, sealed by the Scrivener, and is extended on five leaves.

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THIRD PROOF EXTENDED AND MADE IN THE TOWN OF SALVADOR, IN THE ISLAND OF CUBA.

Before Garcia Holguin, Mayor, and in the presence of Alonso de Escalante, Public Scrivener, on the 16th of February, 1515, at the instance of Andrea Colón, a resident of the said town, and Procurator of Don Diego Colón, was presented, amongst others, as a witness, the Señor Lieutenant Diego Velazquez, Captain General of this Island. His declaration does not appear. The said Andrea Colón nominated as Substitute Procurator, Antonio de Caravajal, who again presented the following witnesses, but not the said Diego de Velazquez :

1. Juan Bermudez, master of one of the " carabelas " of Sus Altezas.
2. Gonzalo Alonso, kitchen-hand.
3. Juan Moreno.
4. Juan Rodriguez de Mafra, pilot, of Palos.
5. Juan de Escalante.
6. Gonzalo Diaz, pilot.

This testimony is signed by the said Alcalde, Garcia Holguin, sealed by Alonso de Escalante, and is written on fifteen leaves of paper. It was presented at Madrid, by Juan de la Peña in the name of and on behalf of the Admiral (Colón) on the 27th of October, 1516.

Roll 2. Packet 4 : 44 pages.

FOURTH PROOF OF THE ADMIRAL OF THE INDIES.

In the city of Salamanca, on the 26th of February, 1515, before the Licentiate Alonso de Buendia on the Interrogatory of sixteen questions, were examined the following witnesses :

1. Doctor Rodrigo Maldonado, citizen and magistrate of the city, and of the Council of the Queen, aged 85 years.
2. Alonso Sanchez de Carvajal, aged 58 years, who went with the Admiral on his second voyage.

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In the town of San German—Puerto Rico—on the 12th January, 1515, before the Mayor, Alonso de Mendoza, on the same Interrogatory, declared :

3. Francisco de Peralta, 30 years of age ; who was servant to Don Cristobal Colón on his fourth voyage.
4. Pedro Farias, who went with Don Cristobal Colón.

In the city of Puerto Rico, on the 30th of September, 1514, before the Mayor, Gonzalez de Valle, on the same Interrogatory, deposed :

5. Francisco Niño, of Palos, aged 35, who went with the Admiral on his second voyage.
6. Lorenzo de Armada, of Noya, 40 years.
7. Juan Revesino, of San German, 40 years.
8. Alonso de Santiago, 31 years.
9. Pedro de Bilbao, a Basque, of Larrabezua, 42 years.
10. Pedro de Tudela, 45 years.
11. Miguel de Toro, 40 years.
12. Francisco de Morales, 48 years.
13. Bartolomé de Caso, 45 years.
14. Gil Vasquez Delgado, 38 years.
15. Juan Caron, 45 years.
16. Gonzalo de Sevilla, of Sevilla, 45 years.

Roll 2. Packet 5 : 134 leaves.

This is dealt with elsewhere.

Roll 2. Packet 6 : 31 leaves.

Copy of the Privileges disputed by the Admiral of Castilla, granted by King John the Second, in confirmation of others of the years 1405 and 1416 ; and Information as to the Offices that are held by the Admiral of the Indies ; and copy of the Testament or Will of Don Cristobal Colón.

These documents were presented on the part of the Admiral (Colón), with his Petition that they should be annexed to the Acts and Proceedings of his suit.

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Roll 2. Packet 7: 51 leaves.

PROOF OF THE LICENTIADE VILLALOBOS, FISCAL OF THE COUNCIL OF THE INDIES, ON BEHALF OF HIS MOUNT

At Sevilla on the 22nd of December, 1533, on 11 Interrogatories, the first of them, of the said Fiscal, twenty-eight questions; and the second, of ten questions in a Proof made by Juan Martin Pinzon, the following witnesses were examined:

1. Lope Sanchez, boatswain, of Triana (Sevilla), years.
2. Cristobal Cerezo, of Triana, 53.
3. Juan de Quexo, of Palos, 60.
4. Pedro Medel, of Palos, 58.
5. Alonso Rodriguez de la Cueva, of Palos, 80.
6. Alonso Velez Albi, chief Mayor of Palos, 70.
7. Bartolome Martin de la Donosa, of Palos, 63.
8. Gil Romero, of Palos, 60.
9. Pedro Arias, of Palos, 75.
10. Diego Fernandez Colmenero, of Palos, 70.
11. Diego Rodriguez Ximen, of Palos, 50.
12. Fernando Valiente, of Palos, 70.
13. Pero Ortiz, of Huelva, 75.
14. Ferran Perez Camacho, of Huelva, 85.
15. Ferran Iñez de Montilla, of Huelva, 80.
16. Gonzalo de Martin, of Huelva, 62.
17. Francisco Medel, of Huelva, 70.
18. Fernando Martin Gutierrez, of Huelva, 85.
19. Anton Romero, of Huelva, 64.
20. Alonso Gallego, of Huelva, 65.
21. Juan Roldan, of Moguer, 50.
22. Cristobal Roldan, of Moguer, 55.
23. Pero Benitez Codero, of Moguer, 70.
24. Pero de Cifuentes, of Sevilla, 40.

In the proof of Juan Martin Pinzon, the following were declared, all being residents of the town of Palos:

1. Pedro Arias, 68 years of age.

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- Rodrigo Prieto, the Elder, 75.
- Pedro Medel, 55.
- Pedro Ambrosio Alonso, 70.
- Barcelome Martin de la Donosa, 65.
- Diego Rodriguez Colmenero, 65.
- Alonso Velez Allid, 70.
- Hernando de Villareal, 65.

Roll 2. Packet 8: 14 leaves.

EXTRACTS FROM THE FIRST PROOF OF THE ADMIRAL.

These appear to have been formed for the study of the case by one or other of the Judges, or are Notes by the Reporters; one by one are extended the questions of the Interrogatory, and at continuation of each are noted the more important points of the declarations of the witnesses. The extract contrasts faithfully with the proofs of the First Packet, and was that which was probably used, in his work, by Fernandez Navarrete (*Colección de Viajes y Descubrimientos*, 3 vols.).

Roll 2. Packet 9: 15 leaves.

This is given elsewhere.

Roll 2. Packet 10: 79 leaves.

PROOF BY THE ADMIRAL D. LUIS COLÓN AS TO THE CUSTOMS DUTIES.

At Dueñas (Valladolid), on the 3rd of October, 1527, on the Interrogatory of thirteen questions, declared the following witnesses:

1. Gaspar de Villadiego, of Dueñas.

Afterwards, in Valladolid:

2. Antonio Sedeño, Accountant of His Majesty, in San Juan.

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3. Geronimo de Lerma, " Contino " of His Majesty.
4. The Licentiate Juan Ortiz de Matienzo, a Judge of the " Audiencia de las Indias."
5. Francisco de Alarcón, of the city of Sevilla, Magistrate.
6. Diego Caballero, Accountant of His Majesty.
7. Martin de Ochandiano.
8. Johan Alemán.
9. Juan Lopez de Recalde, Accountant of the " Casa de Contratación," of Sevilla.
10. The Licentiate, Antonio de la Gama.
11. Francisco de Quindós.
12. Johan de Aranda, Factor of the " Casa de Contratación," of Sevilla.
13. Alonso Perez de Velez, of Sevilla.
14. Alonso Gutierrez, Treasurer and Accountant of His Majesty.
15. Alonso de Castro, of Sevilla.
16. Sancho de Berniya, of Gordijuela (Viscaya).
17. Diego de Reina, of Aranda de Duero.
18. Francisco de Berlanga, *idem*.
19. Luis de Soto.

There follows, in the same packet, an extract of the Proof of the Fiscal made at Santo Domingo on the 10th of November, 1513, on the Interrogatory of eleven questions, in which declared :

1. Bartolome Roldán.
2. Juan de Jerez, pilot.
3. Pedro de Medél, of Palos.
4. Juan Vivas, of the Grand Canary.
5. Cristobal de Vega, of Santo Domingo.
6. Pero Sanchez del Castillo, pilot.
7. Juan de Valencia.
8. Diego de Alfaro.
9. Diego de Montenegro.

There follows the Proof of the Admiral, made at Palos

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on the 5th of January, 1536, on the Interrogatory of thirteen questions, in which declared :

1. Diego Rodriguez Ximon.
 2. Juan de Quejo.
 3. Gil Romero.
 4. Pedro Medel.
-

As has been shown, these three pieces have been joined together, although they should have been kept separate, as they have no immediate relation to each other.

Roll 2. Packet 11 : 15 leaves.

Extracts from the Fourth Proof of the Admiral, or of the fourth packet of this same roll.

This has been compiled similarly to the eighth packet of this roll, apparently with the same object ; and is also one of the documents used by Fernandez de Navarrete, in his publication.

Roll 2. Packet 12.

PROOF BY THE LICENTIIATE PRADO, FISCAL, AS TO THE
ALMOJARIFAZGO, OR CUSTOMS DUTIES.

In the city of Sevilla on the 19th of August, 1527, before the Señor Francisco de Vargas, Mayor in Ordinary, and in the presence of Pedro Tristán, Public Scrivener, by Francisco de Aguilar, in the name of the Señora Vireyna of the Indies, substituted by the Señor Hernandez de Toledo, Comendador Mayor of the Province of Leon, and father of Doña Maria de Toledo, wife that was of Don Diego Colón, as to the Interrogatory of twelve questions, and another of five, were presented as witnesses the following :

20. Lope Sanchez, boatswain to Their Majesties, of Triana.
21. Juan Pierres, of Sevilla.

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22. Diego Hernandez de Barcelona, *idem*.
 23. Pedro de Arbolánchi, *idem*.
 24. Juan Rodriguez Colorado, *idem*.
 25. Ximon de Burgos, *idem*.
 26. Francisco de Plasencia, *idem*.
 27. Juan de Urrutia, *idem*.
 28. Alonso Hernandez, *idem*.
 29. Johan de Pedraza, *idem*.
 30. Gonzalo de Cárdenas, *idem*.
 31. Juan de Cárdenas, *idem*.
 32. Pero Diaz de Alfaro, *idem*.
 33. Francisco Vara, mariner, *idem*.
 34. Francisco Lopez, mariner, of Triana.
 35. Vicente Dávila, of the city of Santo Domingo.
 36. Alonso de Nebreda, of Sevilla.
 37. Juan Hernandez de las Varas, *idem*.
 38. Luis Hernandez de Alforo, *idem*.
 39. Diego Hernandez, *idem*.
 40. Garci Perez, *idem*.
 41. Franco Llardo, *idem*.
 42. Diego Rodriguez, *idem*.
-

PROOF BY THE FISCAL AS TO THE CUSTOMS DUTIES.

In Sevilla, on the 9th of December, 1527, before the Señores Pero Suarez de Castilla and the "Contador," Domingo de Ochandiano, and the Magistrate, Francisco de la Corona, Lieutenant Factor, Judges and officials of the "Casa de la Contratación de las Indias" in the presence of Juan Gutierrez Calderón, Scrivener, by Diego de Collantes, Keeper of the said "Casa," in the name of the Licentiate Prado, Fiscal to Their Majesties, were presented, as to the Interrogatory of the eleven questions, the witnesses :

1. Alonso de Prado, of Sevilla.
2. Rodrigo de Xibraleon, *idem*.
3. Gomez de Prado, *idem*.
4. Pedro de Xerez, *idem*.

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5. Bartolomé Diaz, boatswain and tide-waiter, or surveyor, to their Majesties of the "naos" (ships) of the Indies, of Sevilla.
6. Pedro Suarez de Sevilla, a "Veinte y cuatro" (=Magistrate), of Sevilla, official of His Majesty, in the "Casa de la Contratación."
7. Luis Fernandez de Alfaro, merchant or trader.
8. Juan de Huguivar, official of the records of the "Casa de Contratación," and Scrivener to Their Majesties.
9. The Bachelor of Arts, Alonso Morillo.
10. Bartolomé de Jerez, Customs House Officer.
11. Domingo de Ochandiano, Accountant of His Majesty, in the "Casa de la Contratación."
12. Francisco de la Corona, a magistrate.

This testimony is signed by the above-mentioned Judges and officials.

Roll 2. Packet 13 : 24 leaves.

PROOF MADE BY THE FISCAL ON THE PART OF THEIR MAJESTIES.

This is a relation in which is literally translated the principal and more important of the declarations of the witnesses, as contained in the twenty-third packet of this same roll (*q.v.*).

Roll 2. Packet 14 : 52 leaves.

PROOF OF THE FISCAL OF HIS MAJESTY.

In the city of Santo Domingo, on the 26th of January, 1536, before the Mayor, Juan de Robledillo, on the Interrogatory of twenty-eight questions, were examined the witnesses :

1. Hernan Perez Mateos, of Santo Domingo, aged 80 years.
2. Juan de Rojas, *idem*, of 70 years.

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3. Diego Diaz, *idem*, of 50 years.
4. Bartolomé de Palacios, *idem*, of 50 years.
5. Cristobal de Santa Clara, *idem*, of 50 years.
6. Alonso de Valencia, *idem*, of 58 years. Went on the second voyage of Cristobal Colón.
7. Gregorio de Bilbao, *idem*, of 70 years.
8. Hernan Velazquez, *idem*, of 50 years.
9. Luis Fernandez, *idem*, of 50 years.

There also follows, in this same packet the Proofs made by the Admiral about the government of the Province of Darien, in extract, on the Interrogatory of eleven questions, already mentioned.

Obs: If this refers to Packet 3, then instead of eleven it should be fourteen questions. See Packet 3 *supra*.

Roll 2. Packet 15 : 9 leaves.

PROOF OF HIS MAJESTY'S FISCAL.

At Madrid, on the 28th of August, 1535, on the Interrogatory of twenty-four questions, before the Scrivener, Bernal Darios, declared :

1. Juan Martin Pinzón, of Palos, 60 years of age.
2. Pero Alonso, master mariner, of Ayamonte, of 30 years of age.

Obs.: The details of this Proof are not given by Fernandez Duro, but would appear to be those previously given as on the Interrogatory of *twenty-eight* questions.

Roll 2. Packet 16 : 15 leaves.

This relation is a literal reproduction of the principal and more important testimony of the witnesses as is contained in the twenty-fourth packet (*q.v.*) of the same roll.

PROOF MADE BY THE FISCAL IN THE SUIT WITH THE ADMIRAL OF THE INDIES, AS TO DARIEN.

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Roll 2. Packet 17: 19 leaves.

PROOF BY THE FISCAL OF HIS MAJESTY IN THE SUIT ABOUT THE "DECIMA," OR ONE-TENTH, OF THE CUSTOMS DUTIES.

On the Interrogatory of twelve questions. Extract without date. Declared :

1. Alonso de Prado, of Sevilla.
2. Diego de Gibraleon, trader, of Sevilla.
3. Gomez de Prado, trader, of Sevilla.
4. Pedro de Jerez, trader, of Sevilla.
5. Bartolomé Diaz, boatswain and surveyor of His Majesty's "naos."
6. Pedro Suarez de Castilla, "Veinte y cuatro" (Magistrate) of Sevilla.
7. Luis Fernandez de Alfaro, of Sevilla.
8. Juan de Higuibar, official of the records of the "Casa de la Contratación."
9. The Bachelor of Arts, Alonso Morillo, trader, of Sevilla.
10. Bartolomé de Jerez, Customs House Officer.
11. Domingo de Ochandiano, Accountant of the "Casa de la Contratación."
12. Francisco de la Corona, a magistrate, of Sevilla.

This seems to be a reproduction of that contained in relation to the twelfth packet.

Roll 2. Packet 18.

PRIOR AND SUMMARY RELATION OF THE PROOFS MADE ON BEHALF OF THE FISCAL OF HIS MAJESTY AND OF THE ADMIRAL OF THE INDIES.

Relation of the Proofs presented by the Fiscal, in Madrid, on the 21st of February, 1525.

Relation of the lawsuit between the Admiral of the Indies and the Fiscal of Their Majesties.

Second Petition of the Four "Capitulos."

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Relation of the suit as to the "Tierra-firme," or Mainland.

Petition of Four "Capitulos" in the name of the Admiral.

Relation of the suit of the forty-two "Capitulos."

Another Petition of six "Capitulos" presented by the Admiral.

Another petition of forty-two "Capitulos."

Memorial commented upon by the "Prolocutor" or "Relator," 56 leaves.

Roll 2. Packet 19: 8 leaves.

PETITION OF THE ADMIRAL REQUESTING TO BE ALLOWED TO FIGURE IN THE LAWSUIT.

Copy of the Bull of Pope Alexander VI, and reclamation of his rights, at Madrid, 14th March, 1525.

Roll 2. Packet 20.

VARIOUS DOCUMENTS OR MEMORIALS PRESENTED TO THE COUNCIL OF THEIR MAJESTIES BY THE ADMIRAL OF THE INDIES.

On the 11th of October, 1516, soliciting, that in the Island of Cuba he be given a confirmation ("sobrecarta") of a Provision, which he presents, that he be duly paid or receive the one-tenth.

Requesting, on the 11th of October, 1516, a confirmation of a "cedula" that he should be properly recognised in the future; and that there be duly brought to him all that was due to him in the Island of "Española"; and that there be given proper account of all that passed.

Copy of a letter of the King, at Almazán, on the 24th August, 1507, countersigned by Lope Conchillos.

Letter of the King to the Officials of the Island of Fernandina, which previously has been called Cuba, ordering, that there should be brought to Don Diego Colón, Admiral, Viceroy, and Governor of the Island of Española, and of the other isles which were discovered by

MEMORIALS TO COUNCIL

the Admiral, his father, the one-tenth of gold and the other things which were due to him. Dated at Placencia in 1515. Presented in the City of Madrid on the 11th of October, 1516.

Copy of one of the "Capitulos" of Complaints which had been presented by the Admiral.

A narrative of the Memorial of the Admiral in complaint of the conduct of the Officials of His Majesty in the Island of Cuba, for having failed to render to him that which was properly due under his privileges.

The Memorial to which this narrative refers.

Allegation by the Licentiate Pero Ruiz, Fiscal, opposing the demands of the Admiral, because his father *did not discover the Island of Cuba, nor was it found by his industry.*

There are eight leaves.

[Obs.: The italics are mine.—W. N.]

Roll 2. Packet 21 : 9 leaves.

EXTRACT OF THE PROOF MADE BY THE ADMIRAL.

This was utilised by Fernandez Navarrete, in his work.

Roll 2. Packet 22 : 20 leaves.

INFORMATION HAD AT PUERTO RICO ON JANUARY 3RD, 1515, BEFORE THE RESIDENT JUDGE, SANCHEZ VELAZQUEZ, AS TO THE JUSTICIAL OFFICES HELD BY THE ADMIRAL.

Roll 2. Packet 23.

SECOND PROOF BY THE FISCAL.

In the city of Sevilla before the Noble Señor, Bachelor of Arts, Pero Martinez de Peñalver, Lieutenant—"Asistente," or Chief Officer of Justice of the Very Magnificent Señor Don Juan de Silva de Ribera, the Queen's Chief Officer of Justice of that City, in the presence of Fernant Querada, Scrivener, on the Petition

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dated the 11th of August, 1515, made by Pedro de Isasaga, Factor of Their Majesties, in the " Casa de la Contratacion de las Indias," in the name of Pero Ruiz, Procurador-Fiscal of His Majesty, on the Interrogatory of the twenty-four questions, were examined the witnesses :

1. Alonso Rodriguez de la Calva, of Palos.
2. Martin Martinez, Master of the " nave " *El Antigua*, of Palos.
3. Juan de Ungria, of Moguer.

The testimony is signed by the said Pero Martinez Peñalver, Lieutenant (= Chief Officer), and signed by the Scrivener, Fernand Quexada, and is extended on sixteen leaves of paper.

PROOF MADE AT HUELVA.

On the 25th September, 1515, before Francisco Martinez, Mayor, and in the presence of Fernando de Jerez, Public Scrivener, by Bartolomé de Arriola, Substitute Procurator, were presented, the witnesses :

4. Garci Hernandez.
5. Anton Hernandez Colmenero.

The testimony is signed by the above-named, and is extended on eleven pages of paper.

PROOF MADE AT LEPE.

On the 19th of September, 1515, before the honourable Cristobal de Zovalla, Mayor, and in the presence of Juan Jenorio, Scrivener, at the instance of Bartolomé de Arriola, were presented :

6. Manuel de Valdevinos.
7. Pero Ramirez.
8. Juan de Moguer.
9. Juan de Palencia, Magistrate and resident, of Lepe.

The testimony, signed by the aforesaid, is contained in thirteen sheets of paper.

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PROOF MADE AT PALOS.

Before the Noble and Very Virtuous Señor Juan Martin de Castillejos, Deputy Mayor, and in the presence of Alonso Fernandez Sanabria, Public Scrivener, by Bartolomé de Arriola were presented the following witnesses, on the 1st of October, 1515 :

10. Juan Gonzalez, Portuguese.
11. Diégo Prieto.
12. Juan Calvo.
13. Garcia de la Monja.
14. Herrando Esteban.
15. Garcia Ferrandez, physician.
16. Cristobal Garcia.
17. Pedro Medel.
18. Diego Fernandez Colmenero.
19. Luis de Valle.
20. Juan Martin, a Fleming.
21. Francisco Garcia Vallejo.
22. Arias Perez Pinzón.

The testimony consists of thirty-two sheets of paper ; the entire proof of seventy-five " folios," or leaves.

Roll 2. Packet 24.

PROOF OF THE ADMIRAL MADE AT SANTO DOMINGO.

On the 7th of December, 1512, before the Señor Licentiate Juan Hortiz de Matienzo, Judge of the Audiencia of the Island of Española, in the presence of Pedro de Ledesina, Scrivener, the Licentiate Sancho Velazquez presented an Interrogatory of eleven questions and the witnesses :

1. Andres de Morales, pilot, of Santo Domingo.
2. Alonso de Hojeda.
3. Nicolas Perez, Master of a Vessel of His Majesty.
4. Johan de Quecedo.
5. Rodrigo de Bastidas.
6. Anton Garcia, pilot.

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7. Rodrigo Manzorro.
8. Diego de Morales.
9. Cristobal de Barros.

This testimony, signed and sealed, occupies sixteen leaves of paper.

PROOF OF THE FISCAL MADE AT SEVILLA.

On the 12th of February, 1513, before the Noble and Very Excellent Señor, the Licentiate Lope de Montenegro, Deputy Alcalde of the City of Sevilla, and in the presence of Cristobal de Matute, Scrivener, by the Comendador Ochoa de Isasaga, and the Auditor or Receiver, Juan Lopez de Recalde, Officers of the " Casa de la Contratación " of the said City, and in the name and on behalf of the Licentiate Pero Ruiz, Fiscal of His Majesty, were examined and declared the witnesses :

10. Diego de Porras, Paymaster, of Melilla.
11. Diego Cabezudo, or Cabecetado, a mariner.
12. Diego Martin Barranco, mariner.
13. Juan de Noya, cooper.
14. Martin de Arriera, cooper.
15. Pedro de Ledesma, a King's pilot.
16. Vicente Yañez Pinzón, Captain of Their Majesties.
17. Ambrosio Sanchez, Master of the " nao " *Santa Maria*.
18. Juan de Quero, a mariner of the high seas.
19. Juan Rodriguez, pilot.
20. Juan Quintero, a mariner.
21. Francisco de Porras, a " contino " (a fixed or permanent officer) of His Majesty's household.

The testimony, signed and sealed, is contained in forty-five leaves.

Roll 2. Packets 25 to 29.

These did not come from the " Archivo," and are therefore not included.

WITNESSES IN THE LAWSUIT

Roll 2. Packet 20 : 10 leaves.

Proof of the Admiral dated the year 1515, at San Salvador, and at Palos, and other places. In it are copied the principal and more important of the statements of the witnesses who declared in the proof, the third packet of this same roll.

Roll 3. Packet 1 : 231 leaves.

PROCESS BETWEEN THE ADMIRAL OF THE INDIES, DON LUIS COLÓN, AND THE FISCAL OF HIS MAJESTY, AS TO THE SHARE OF THE DUTIES HE SHOULD RECEIVE AND DUE TO HIM IN VIRTUE OF HIS SAID OFFICE OF ADMIRAL.—1537.

It comprehends testimony of the Privileges of Customs Duties and information of the rights enjoyed by the Admirals of Castile, Tariff of the Duties they collected, prerogatives, etc. Terminating in the year 1551.

Roll 3. Packet 2 : 26 leaves.

SENTENCE GIVEN AT MADRID ON 18TH AUGUST, 1535, DECLARING THE RIGHTS PERTAINING TO THE ADMIRAL OF THE INDIES, AND VARIOUS DOCUMENTS OF APPEAL OF BOTH PARTIES.

Roll 3. Packet 3 : Comprising two matters.

I.: TESTIMONY OF GRANT BY THEIR CATHOLIC MAJESTIES CONCEDED LICENCE TO ALL WHO MIGHT WISH TO GO TO THE INDIES, BUT SO THAT NO PREJUDICE SHOULD ACCRUE TO THE PRIVILEGES CONCEDED TO THE FIRST ADMIRAL ; AND OTHER "CEDULAS," ONE AN ORIGINAL, GIVING INSTRUCTIONS TO DON CRISTOBAL COLÓN AS TO HIS VOYAGES, 1497-1502. Seven leaves.

II.: COPY OF THE TITLE AND PRIVILEGES CONCEDED BY JUAN THE SECOND OF CASTILE TO THE ADMIRAL DON ALONSO RODRIGUEZ, AND VARIOUS DOCUMENTS PRESENTED BY DON CRISTOBAL COLÓN TO THE MAYORS OF

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SEVILLA, ON 5TH JANUARY, 1502, AS TO CERTAIN PRIVILEGES WHICH HAD BEEN CONCEDED TO HIM BY THEIR CATHOLIC MAJESTIES. Eighty-eight leaves.

Roll 3. Packet 4. Two matters also.

I.: DEFINITE SENTENCE GIVEN AT DUEÑAS ON 27TH AUGUST, 1534, AND DOCUMENTS OF APPEAL BY BOTH PARTIES. Seventy-five leaves.

Amongst these documents is one by Doña Maria de Toledo, Widow of Don Diego Colón, whereon she signs "*the unfortunate 'Vireyna' of the Indies*"; and another by Juan Martin Pinzón—which is elsewhere extended—and by which he transferred the rights he was entitled to in virtue of the Agreement made between his father, Martin Alonso Pinzón, and Don Cristobal Colón, in favour of the Crown of Castile; also set out elsewhere.

II.: TESTIMONY OF ROYAL DECREES AND PROVISIONS, AND TWO ORIGINALS, HAVING RELATION TO THE SUIT, A.D. 1525. Forty-six leaves.

Roll 3. Packet 5 : 98 leaves.

NOTES OF THE COUNCIL AND SUIT ABOUT THE ISLA OF DARIEN.

Concluded at Madrid on 7th August, 1517.

Roll 3. Packet 6 : 139 leaves.

SUIT BETWEEN THE ADMIRAL DON LUIS COLÓN AND THE FISCAL OF HIS MAJESTY, THE LICENTATE PRADO.

Commences on the 28th July, 1526, at Granada, and concludes at Valladolid on the 20th July, 1534. Amongst the documents of this Roll of the Proceedings are some original Royal "*Cedulas*"; another of parchment with the autograph of Don Hernando Colón at foot; and

ROYAL DECREES AND PROVISIONS

another of the "Dux" of Venice, Andrea Gritti, with a pendant seal of lead. This, no doubt, was the Gritti who retook Brescia from the French in 1512.

Roll 4. Packet 1 : 167 leaves.

ROYAL "CEDULA," issued at Ghent on the 28th September, 1556—the original, APPROVING AND CONFIRMING THE AGREEMENT MADE WITH DON LUIS COLÓN, ADMIRAL OF THE INDIES, AS TO THE DUKEDOM AND ESTATE OF VERAGUA, AND OTHER MATTERS, AND RENOUNCEMENT TO HIS MAJESTY ; AND AS TO THE RECOMPENSE TO BE GIVEN IN RESPECT THEREOF ; AND THAT HIS MAJESTY ACCEPT THE SAID RENUNCIATION, AND ORDERS THAT IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE SAID AGREEMENT THE NECESSARY PROVISIONS AND DESPATCHES BE GIVEN ; FOLLOWED BY THE SUIT PENDING BEFORE THE COUNCIL OF THE INDIES BETWEEN THE ADMIRAL DON LUIS COLÓN AND THE DOCTOR FRANCISCO HERNANDEZ DE LIEVANA, FISCAL OF HIS MAJESTY IN THE SAID COUNCIL, AS TO THAT THE SAID ADMIRAL PRETENDS TO HAVE BEEN TRICKED IN THE AGREEMENT WHICH HAD BEEN MADE.

Concludes at Madrid on the 17th of December, 1563, on the Petition of the said Don Luis Colón that a new Concert and Agreement should be made, the Fiscal assenting ; and treats of the populating of the Estate of Veragua, the office of High Constable, and rights to Customs Duties, and of the restitution for the money short-paid him ; and other pretensions.

Roll 4. Packet 2 : 38 leaves.

SUIT BETWEEN THE ADMIRAL OF THE INDIES, DON LUIS COLÓN, AND THE FISCAL OF HIS MAJESTY AS TO THE POPULATION OF THE ESTATE OF VERAGUA AND OF THE PEOPLE HE REQUIRED FOR THAT PURPOSE.

Commences at Valladolid on the 15th February, 1555, and concludes at the same city on the 19th of September of the same year.

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Roll 4. Packet 3 : 67 leaves.

SUIT BETWEEN THE ADMIRAL OF THE INDIES, DON LUIS COLÓN, AND THE FISCAL OF HIS MAJESTY AS TO THE RESTITUTION HE SEEKS OF MONEY SHORT PAID HIM, AND AS TO HIS POSITION IN SANTO DOMINGO.

Commences at Valladolid in April, 1554, and terminates in August, 1556, with a Petition for Settlement and Agreement by the said Admiral.

Roll 4. Packet 4 : 15 leaves.

SUIT BETWEEN THE SAID DON LUIS COLÓN AND THE FISCAL OF HIS MAJESTY AS TO THE SUPPLEMENT HE SEEKS SHOULD BE MADE TO HIM AS TO THE 1,000 DUCADOS OF QUIT-RENT HE HAD SOLD TO HIS MAJESTY.

Commences at Madrid on the 28th of August, 1564, and terminates on the 25th of September, in the same year.

Roll 4. Packet 5 : 106 leaves.

PROOF OF THE ADMIRAL DON LUIS COLÓN AS TO THE DUKEDOM OF VERAGUA AND THE RIGHTS PERTAINING TO HIM.

Commences at Valladolid on the 17th April, 1561.

Roll 4. Packet 6 : 4 leaves.

PROOF OF THE ALMIRAL DON LUIS COLÓN, IN THE SUIT AS TO THE DUKEDOM OF VERAGUA, IN WHICH DECLARES ONLY THE LICENTIAATE BRIBIESCA, BEFORE OCHOA DE LUYANDO, AT MADRID, ON THE 25TH SEPTEMBER, 1561.

Roll 4. Packet 7 : 20 leaves.

PROOF OF THE SAME ADMIRAL AS TO THE MATTER OF VERAGUA, MADE AT TOLEDO ON THE 7TH FEBRUARY, 1561.

DOCUMENTS IN THE LAWSUIT

Roll 4. Packet 8 : 16 leaves.

PROOF OF THE FISCAL IN THE SAME SUIT AS TO THE
DUKEDOM OF VERAGUA, MADE AT MADRID ON THE
16TH JANUARY, 1562.

Roll 4. Packet 9 : 26 leaves.

PROOF OF THE FISCAL IN THE SAME SUIT, MADE AT THE
CITY OF PANAMÁ, ON THE 22ND OF AUGUST, 1562.

Roll 4. Packet 10 : 93 leaves.

PROOF OF THE FISCAL IN THE SAME SUIT MADE AT THE
CITY OF SANTO DOMINGO, ON THE 9TH MARCH, 1562.

Roll 4. Packet 11 : 26 leaves.

PROOF OF THE FISCAL IN THE SAME SUIT, MADE AT THE
CITY OF PANAMÁ ON THE 22ND OF AUGUST, 1562.

(This would seem to be a repetition of Packet 9.)

Roll 4. Packet 12 : 80 leaves.

TESTIMONY PRESENTED ON THE PART OF THE VIREYNA,
DOÑA MARIA DE TOLEDO, AS TO THE "PROVISIÓN" OF
THE EMPEROR DON CARLOS, IN WHICH WAS DECLARED
THE FORM IN WHICH DON LUIS COLÓN SHOULD OPERATE
IN THE CUSTOMS OF THE INDIES. DATED AT THE CITY
OF SANTO DOMINGO ON 9TH OF DECEMBER, 1542.

Roll 4. Packet 13 : 28 leaves.

PROOF OF THE FISCAL IN THE SUIT AS TO THE DUKEDOM
OF VERAGUA, DATED AT TOLEDO, 31ST JANUARY, 1561.

Roll 4. Packet 14 : 22 leaves.

PROOF OF THE ADMIRAL IN THE SAME SUIT, MADE AT
SEVILLA ON THE 19TH MAY, 1554.

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Roll 4. Packet 15 : 6 leaves.

RELATION EXTRACTED FROM THE PROOF OF DON LUIS COLÓN AS TO THE RIGHTS OF THE ADMIRALTY OF CASTILE.
AT THE CITY OF SANTO DOMINGO, WITHOUT DATE.

Roll 4. Packet 16 : 66 leaves.

PROOF OF THE FISCAL IN THE SUIT WITH THE ADMIRAL,
MADE AT SEVILLA ON THE 14TH OF FEBRUARY, 1561,
IN THE CASA DE LA CONTRATACIÓN.

Roll 5 : 189 leaves.

BOOK OF COPIES OF ROYAL "CEDULAS" AND "PROVISIONES" (DECREES) OF THE YEARS 1511 TO 1519, IN WHICH ARE TO BE FOUND (p. 22) THE SECRET INFORMATION RELATIVE TO THE RESULT OF THE PROCEEDINGS AGAINST THE OFFICIALS OF THE ADMIRAL, MADE BY THE LICENTIATE CRISTOBAL LEBRON, RESIDENT JUDGE OF THE ISLAND ESPAÑOLA, AND ROYAL Cedula GIVEN, IN CONSEQUENCE, AT BURGOS ON THE 7TH OF JULY, 1515.

PROOFS OF JUAN MARTIN PINZON.

At the town of Palos on the 1st of November, 1532, before the very excellent Diego Prieto, Chief Mayor of the City, on the part of the illustrious Duke of Medina Sidonia, and in the presence of me, Alonso Hernandez de Sanabria, a Public Scrivener of this town, appeared Juan Martin Pinzón, a citizen of the city of Huelva, and presented a written Petition containing certain questions formulated by the Licentiate, Lozano, as appears by it, and solicited of the said Chief Mayor according as by its tenor is contained, which is that which follows ; and witnesses of which, duly present, were Pedro Hernandez de Salmenero and Diego Hernandez, his father, both citizens of this same town of Palos :

THE CASE FOR PINZON

Noble Sir :

JUAN MARTIN PINZÓN, citizen of Huelva, affirm that I have necessity to make certain proofs of certain services to the Royal Crown and Catholic Kings and to the sovereignty of these Kingdoms, which, in the time of the Catholic King of glorious memory, were made by my father, Martin Alonso Pinzón, now deceased, formerly a citizen of this town ; and to appeal to His Majesty to order that those services be rewarded ; and, so that it may be valuable and convenient to me, and my interests, request of your Majesty that, together with the witnesses I may present, this Petition may be received and heard, and, under oath, witnesses be examined and have applied to them the following questions :

“ Firstly : If they knew personally Martin Alonso Pinzón, now deceased, a citizen and native of the town of Palos, and Maria Alvarez, his lawful wife, who dwelt in the street of Nuestra Señora de la Rabida ; and if they knew that the said Martin Alonso Pinzón and Maria Alvarez, his wife, were married and espoused, as ordained by the Holy Mother Church, and had issue, and reared as their own natural and lawful child, Juan Martin Alonso, who now lives in the city of Huelva ; and as such were commonly held and reputed to be ; and as such was, and is, the said Juan Martin.”

All the witnesses declared in conformity with the question.

Secondly : “ If the witnesses were aware that the said Martin Alonso Pinzón was a person who knew a great deal about nautical matters and navigation, and was a pilot, and well-versed as a navigator, and laboured to discover the Indies and islands of the Ocean ; and for the better understanding of that matter, and that relating thereto, went to Rome to obtain from the Map of the World of the Pope [It would be interesting to know which edition he saw.—ED.], note of all the regions and countries contained in it ; and that, in effect, he obtained and brought back to Palos such information ; which he duly studied and took into account, and was useful to him

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for the purpose of the navigation to those Indies and lands of the Ocean ; which he made at his own cost ; and that this was common and notorious information."

PEDRO ARIAS.—Declared that Martin Alonso Pinzón well understood seafaring matters and navigation better than anyone else ; was a wise and skilful pilot ; that it was public news and information that, to better his knowledge, Martin Alonso Pinzón went to Rome ; that he, the witness, saw him start, to learn and acquire information of the Pope's *Mapa mundi* ; and that he brought details of it, as was well known ; as was equally notorious that he did so at his own cost.

RODRIGO PRIETO.—Affirmed that he knew that Martin Alonso Pinzón went to Rome ; and was a very intelligent person, a pilot, and very capable.

PEDRO DE MEDEL.—Stated that he saw and knew that Pinzón was a person who understood a very great deal about seafaring matters, was a pilot, and intelligent and capable in the art of navigation ; and that he saw him (depart) on his own ship, and heard it stated in the town (of Palos) that Pinzón's intention and object was to discover the Indies.

PEDRO ALONSO AMBROSIO.—Declared that he was acquainted with Martin Alonso Pinzón, who was a very intelligent person who went to Rome at his own cost, in his own ship, laden with a cargo of sardines ; and brought back with him, obtained from the " Map of the World," of the Pope, and from a book, information useful to enable him to undertake and comprehend the navigation of the Indies.

BARTOLOMÉ DE LA DONOSA, DIEGO RODRIGUEZ COLMENERO, and HERNANDO DE VILLAREAL stated the same. ALONSO VELEZ, whilst testifying as to the abilities of Pinzón, and knowing that he had been to Rome, stated nothing further.

Thirdly : " If the witnesses were aware that the Admiral, Cristobal Colón, being informed of the skill and experience of the said Martin Alonso Pinzón, in the year 1492 A.D., came to the town of Palos in search of the said

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Martin Alonso Pinzón, in order to be instructed by and to navigate with him, in search of the said Indies, and the lands and islands of the Ocean ; and that when Colón arrived at Palos he found that the said Martin Alonso Pinzón was gone to Rome about the matter already mentioned in the present question ; and that the said Colón waited at Palos until the said Martin Alonso Pinzón returned from Rome, and had brought with him the necessary instruction or key to the navigation required for the before-mentioned purpose ; and that he brought back full account thereof ; and that, meanwhile, the said Admiral reposed in the Monastery of La Rabida, where he remained without learning anything useful to his purpose until the return from Rome of the said Martin Alonso Pinzón."

PEDRO ARIAS.—Affirmed that he knew of the matters referred to in and by the question as is therein contained and expressed ; and that the Admiral was in very poor circumstances and maintained by the Frailes of the Monastery.

RODRIGO PRIETO.—Stated that Cristobal Colón came to this town (of Palos) provided with a "Provisión," or authority, of the Monarchs to go to search for the Indies ; and lived in the Monastery of La Rabida many days, and endeavoured to make up an Armada, but found no one willing to assist him ; and that he then treated with Martin Alonso Pinzón and made an agreement with him, and that if he had not joined hands with him his endeavours to create an Armada would have been hopeless and futile, because he could not find any other people able and willing to assist him ; and, as the said Martin Alonso Pinzón was well connected and a very intelligent person and had many relations who were mariners, and who, when they saw that Martin Alonso Pinzón was actually going with the Armada, they, for liking and sympathy, went with him also.

PEDRO DE MEDEL.—Declared that he had heard stated the various matters referred to in the Interrogatory ; and that they were public and notorious.

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PEDRO ALONSO AMBROSIO, BARTOLOMÉ DE LA LADANOSA, PEDRO RODRIGUEZ COLMENERO, and HERNANDO DE VILLAREAL affirmed similarly.

ALONSO VELEZ ALLID.—Witnessed that the Admiral was in Palos for some time publishing and predicting the discovery of the Indies, and lived meantime at the Monastery of La Rábida, and communicated the project of discovery to a “fraile-astrologo” who lived there as “Guardian,” or Superior, and similarly with a fraile, named Juan, who had served, when young, the Court of Queen Isabel, as a clerk in the Accounts Department ; and who, on grasping the significance of the project, went to the Court, then at Granada, and to their Majesties communicated the intended undertaking in such a manner that they ordered the Admiral, Colón, to come to them ; and there the said Admiral was given authority to make the voyage of discovery, and with this concession the said Admiral returned to Palos to carry out the projected undertaking ; but, as this (new) country was neither known nor understood, he could not obtain people to assist and to go with him ; and that at this period and position of affairs this witness knew and saw that Martin Alonso Pinzón, to serve the Crown and to favour and assist the Admiral, rich and able to do so as he was, determined to assist and go and accompany the Admiral in this projected expedition ; and did so, and took with him his brothers Vicente Yañez and Francisco Martin Pinzón ; and, seeing that they were going, many others, hitherto unwilling, well-to-do kinsmen, friends, and townsmen, also volunteered to go ; and that thus three vessels were enabled to be well fitted out, and in them they made the voyage of discovery.

Fourthly : “ If the witnesses knew and were aware that Martin Alonso Pinzón, having returned from Rome with the aforementioned information, that the said Admiral Colón went to the house of the said Martin Alonso Pinzón, in Palos, and was there informed and instructed as to the method of this navigation, and was given the advice needed to be able to discover the

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Indies ; which being done, the said Admiral (Colón), went to the Court of the Catholic Kings Fernando and Ysabel, of glorious memory, to give full account and explanation of his project, with the object and end that, authorised by Their Majesties, the Armada and the navigation should be constructed and effected, respectively ; and that the said Pinzón also gave money and outfit to the said Admiral Colón for the carrying out of the said projected expedition because the said Admiral was very poor and entirely without the means to make it ; and that in that way and manner, by the advice, zeal, and practical assistance of the said Martin Alonso Pinzón, was first made, and fitted out the first Armada that was organised for the purpose alluded to."

PEDRO ARIAS.—Believed and understood that the Admiral, Colón, was instructed by Martin Alonso Pinzón in the method and manner of the navigation to the Indies ; and that the said Pinzón procured that the said Admiral went to the Court, and there presented the beforementioned project, in order that, authorised by their Majesties, the Armada and expedition should be formed ; and that he (Pinzón) also provided the Admiral with the necessary funds which were brought to him by Diego Prieto, a resident also of Palos, to assist and enable him (the Admiral) in the carrying-out of the project as agreed upon ; and that the said Admiral (Colón) was very impecunious ; and that, by reason of the intelligence, means, and industry and zeal of the said Martin Alonso Pinzón, the first Armada and expedition was enabled to be created, and duly sailed from this Port of Palos.

RODRIGO PRIETO.—Declared that he was aware and saw that Martin Alonso Pinzón joined and assisted the Armada, and that in consequence of his doing so there was a disposition to assist him on the part of many of the relations, friends, and townsmen to construct and complete the Armada, as was actually done by them ; and that if they had not so joined and assisted, it could not have been so easily done, as the Admiral alone could not find anybody at Palos, or elsewhere, to aid him, nor could he

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have found them ; and, that, in that help and assistance the said Martin Alonso Pinzón rendered a very great service to their Majesties, in arranging and fitting-out the said voyage to the Indies ; and that it would not have been possible had it not been for him and his peoples, because the others saw much hardship and danger involved in the proposed expedition ; he himself assisted as much as he could ; that he, the witness, was invited by the said Martin Alonso Pinzón to go with him on this expedition, but did not do so, as being to him and to others, of Palos, such an uncertain and dangerous enterprise ; that he also knew and was aware that the said Martin Alonso Pinzón laboured very hard, and was also in communication with their Majesties ; and that he also knew and saw, that the said Admiral could not possibly have himself got together and fitted-out the Armada ; and further affirmed that it was public and notorious that it could not have been performed but for the intervention and powerful assistance of the said Martin Alonso Pinzón.

PEDRO DE MEDEL.—Affirmed that he knew and saw that the said Martin Alonso Pinzón fitted out the said Armada with the aid of his kinsmen and friends, who esteemed him highly, and trusted him absolutely ; and laboured and spent their money in assisting at its construction ; and that he knew that the Admiral was in very poor circumstances, and was maintained by the charity of the Monks of La Rabida ; and had not the possibility of being able to form this Armada without the interference and assistance of the said Martin Alonso Pinzón.

The other witnesses preferred similar testimony in confirmation.

Sixthly : “ If the witnesses knew and were aware that the said Armada, being concerted and fitted out by the said Martin Alonso Pinzón, which could not have been done but for his assistance, and the said Admiral (Colón) having returned from Court ; and the said Martin Alonso Pinzón having given and spent his own money and means and material in the enterprise ; that they

PINZON PROVIDED ARMADA

started, navigated, and proceeded under his knowledge of navigation ; and that being in what was called ' the Golf,' the said Admiral (Colón) wished to return to Spain, and sought to procure that all the others (the crews) should side with him ; and that the said Martin Alonso Pinzón refused to do so, and continued the voyage, leaving the Admiral, who, seeing that the said Martin Alonso Pinzón continued, rejoined him ; and that in that manner, the said Martin Alonso Pinzón, haranguing the crews to the effect that an Armada of such great Princes could not possibly go back, prevailed on them to continue the voyage, and navigated, with certain dangers, hardships, and necessities ; and altered their course, by means of which tactics they shortly reached the Indies."

PEDRO DE MEDEL.—Testified that he heard it thus stated by and from those of the crew who returned from the Expedition ; and that the discovery would not have been effected had it not been for the said Martin Alonso Pinzón ; that in the " Gulf " the Admiral wished to return to Spain and give up the project, and accordingly endeavoured to procure with the crews that they should return ; and that the said Martin Alonso Pinzón did not so wish, but continued his navigation and left the Admiral to do as he liked ; but who, seeing that the said Martin Alonso Pinzón persisted in and continued the voyage, rejoined him ; and that the said Martin Alonso Pinzón, reasoning with and animating the other crews and saying that an Armada of such high princes could not possibly abandon the undertaking, restored fresh courage to them, and navigated forwards with much danger and hardship ; and altered their course ; by which they eventually reached the Indies ; and that all the foregoing he had heard said and publicly spoken in the town (of Palos).

ALONSO VELEZ ALLID.—Declared that what he knew was that Martin Alonso Pinzón had received information from Pedro Vazquez de la Frontera, who had made a voyage to discover these territories with an Infante of

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Portugal, and who had stated that they certainly had been mistaken, and had been deceived by the masses of weed they had met with in the wastes of the ocean, and had also told the said Martin Alonso Pinzón that when he arrived at this seaweed, should the Admiral wish to return on account of that obstacle, not to consent to do so, but to continue to navigate onwards, because it was impossible not to meet with land sooner or later ; and should keep on and persist because the said Infante of Portugal, for not continuing, failed to reach it ; and that after the return of the said Martin Alonso Pinzón and Colón from their voyage, it was said, as a public and well-known matter that the said Admiral, when he met with the field or sea of weed, wished to give up the voyage and return to Spain ; and that the said Martin Alonso Pinzón, because of what he had been told and knew, would not and did not consent to do so, and said, that if the Admiral wished to return to Spain, he (Pinzón) would continue the voyage ; and did so, and within four or five days discovered the land now known as Santo Domingo, now a populated place ; and that all this was public and notorious matter, which the mariners on their return to Palos spoke of as having actually taken place to their own certain knowledge.

The other witnesses affirmed that all occurred as was indicated by and in the interrogatory, and that the matters were public and notorious.

PEDRO ALONSO AMBROSIO added that Martin Alonso Pinzón had himself given him all these facts and circumstances.

Seventhly : “ If the witnesses were aware to their own certain knowledge that in that manner they voyaged and that the said Martin Alonso Pinzón, with his vessels, went ahead of the said Admiral, and one night discovered the land—a day before the said Admiral (Colón) rejoined him, or arrived there ; that the said Martin Alonso Pinzón landed together with some of those who had faithfully followed with him for sympathy and obligation they owed him ; and took possession of that land of the

MASSSES OF SEAWEED

Indies of the Ocean in the places now populated, Santo Domingo and other adjacent islands, and where he disembarked and commenced to take due note of the names of the various spots and localities, the place now being named ' rio de Martin Alonso ' after him ; and by reason of what he ventured, and did, the said Admiral arrived at these Islands, where many died who were kinsmen and friends of the said Martin Alonso Pinzón, in doing their duty towards him in the taking possession of these lands."

ALONSO VELEZ ALLID.—Declared that he had heard it said that Martin Alonso Pinzón had, to a certain extent, separated from the said Admiral, but did not know the details ; and that it is true that Martin Alonso Pinzón disembarked at the Indies, and discovered them ; and learned much of the secrets of that region ; and that this was public and notorious.

PEDRO ALONSO AMBROSIO.—Affirmed that he himself had heard it stated by Martin Alonso Pinzón and from those who returned with him, the matters and facts as stated in and referred to by the question.

The other witnesses also affirmed that they too had heard it so stated by those who returned from the voyage of discovery, and that the matter was both notorious and public.

Eighthly: " If the witnesses knew that the said Martin Alonso Pinzón voyaged amongst the said islands, and inquired into and learned their secrets, and demonstrated to the said Admiral (Colón) that they should return to Spain to give due account to their Majesties of all that had occurred ; and that even then the said Admiral was angry and jealous of the said Martin Alonso for his wishing to make known to their Majesties the facts and secrets of those Indies ; and that from that place they thenceforward proceeded to return together, the said Admiral (Colón) and the said Martin Alonso Pinzón, to Spain, to the town of Palos ; and that the said Martin Alonso arrived there in very ill health in consequence of the great fatigues he had experienced ;

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and, being about to start on a journey to give his account of the expedition to their Majesties, succumbed to that illness he had so contracted, and died, without being able to do so ; and leaving as his heir his son, Juan Martin Pinzón, who still lives.”

PEDRO ARIAS.—Declared that he understood the significance and meaning of the question, because he knew and was aware that Martin Alonso Pinzón, when about to go to the Court to give relation and account to their Majesties of all that he had seen and discovered, died at the town of Palos in consequence of the illness and exhaustion incurred as a result of the voyage, leaving as his legitimate son, Juan Martin Pinzón.

ALONSO VELEZ ALLID.—Testified that the two vessels—those of the Admiral and of Martin Alonso Pinzón—returned to Palos ; and that Pinzón arrived very infirm, and subsequently died ; without having been able to give a personal narrative of his experiences to their Majesties, as the witness knew and saw ; and also that the said Admiral (Colón) and Martin Alonso Pinzón came back much estranged, because of the many secrets and the information which the said Martin Alonso Pinzón had acquired for the use and benefit of their Majesties, and which, because of his fatal sickness, he had no opportunity of giving to them personal and direct account.

The other witnesses declared also that they saw Martin Alonso Pinzón return, very ill, and died, without having been able to go to the Court.

Ninthly : “ If the witnesses knew, that after having made the discovery of the Islands, that the said Admiral asked of their Majesties the fifth part of them as well as certain sovereignty or authority, and that on their part it was opposed that it was by means of the knowledge, zeal, and industry of the said Martin Alonso Pinzón that the referred to lands had been discovered, and not by that of the said Admiral ; and that their Majesties did not admit that claim ; and, that because the said Martin Alonso Pinzón had not appeared for

ESTRANGEMENT OF COLON AND PINZON

himself to declare the exact truth and facts of the matter, their Majesties were dissatisfied, because, in truth and notoriously in the public voice, and common opinion, it was by the knowledge, skill, information and industry of the said Martin Alonso Pinzón that were discovered and gained for Spain, the firm land of the said Indies ; and that but for him the discovery would not have happened as it did ; and to declare what they knew of these matters."

PEDRO DE MEDEL.—Declared that he knew that no one had on the part and behalf of the said Martin Alonso Pinzón, stated to their Majesties the truth of what actually had happened, nor had it by himself ever been so manifested to them ; because, in truth, and as was notorious, it was by the skill, knowledge, and great industry of the said Martin Alonso Pinzón that the Indies were discovered and gained to Spain ; and that, otherwise, as had been made manifest there would not have been nor could have existed any real cause or reason for the discovery ; and that that is public and notorious amongst all those who were well-informed about the matter—certain and absolutely true and exact as shown by all that is contained in and indicated by this question ; and that if on the part of the said Martin Alonso Pinzón anybody had defended his cause then he would not have remained without the remuneration and award he was entitled to and should have received—as happened—because of his very great services to the Crown.

DIEGO RODRIGUEZ COLMENERO.—Affirmed that he was aware that Queen Isabel sent a message that Martin Alonso Pinzón should go to see her to report in person, and to be gratified and rewarded for his great services ; and that as when the messenger arrived at Palos, the said Pinzón was dead, the Queen received the news with much regret.

The other witnesses affirmed that they knew of the matters as contained and indicated by and in the question and that they were public and notorious to all.

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Tenthly: "If the witnesses knew that all the foregoing is public knowledge and information, and notorious."

They one and all affirmed that it was so.

The declarations of the witnesses having been taken and received in that manner as described and set out, the said Juan Martin Pinzón came before the Judge and requested official testimony of it ; and therefore, in the form solicited, the "Alcalde Mayor" (the Chief Mayor) ordered it to be given to him for the guarding and conservation of his interests, and in order that he could be able to present and sustain any reclamation that he might at any time think fit to make in his own ends and interests, etc., etc.

There then follows, of a few years' later date only (1535), a very curious document, being nothing less than the formal renouncement by this same Juan Martin Pinzón in favour of the Crown, of all and whatever reward he or his heirs might be entitled to receive from it by reason of his father's (Martin Alonso Pinzón) very real assistance and help in this Discovery of the New World.

It is headed :

REPRESENTATION BY JUAN MARTIN PINZON, AND RENOUNCEMENT OF HIS RIGHTS, IN FAVOUR OF THE CROWN OF CASTILE.

In the city of Madrid, being in residence the Empress, and her Royal Council, on the 24th of August, 1535, in the presence of me, the Scrivener, and the witnesses who attest, personally appeared an individual who called himself Juan Martin Pinzón, a citizen of Huelva, legitimate son and heir of Martin Alonso Pinzón, deceased, formerly a citizen of the town of Palos ; who stated that inasmuch as between his said father and Don Xpóbal Colón, deceased, late Admiral of the Indies, it had been agreed to divide equally between them all that which the Catholic Kings might grant to the said Don Xpóbal Colón by virtue of or because of the

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discovery of the Indies of the Ocean ; and that one-half of the whole of it the said Martin Alonso Pinzón should have and enjoy ; and because the said Xpóbal Colón had obtained of and from the said Catholic Kings for and on account of the aforementioned reason and event, the offices of Viceroy, Admiral, and Governor, and other matters ; and because the said Martin Alonso Pinzón, his father, had invested in the said Discovery his fortune, ships, relatives, and his own person and industry ; he, therefore, as completely as he could and should in his name ceded and transferred and vested in the Royal Crown of Castile and in the Emperor our King Don Carlos, all the right and action that in any way pertained or might be due to him in those said offices of Admiral, Viceroy and Governor of the said Indies, islands, and mainland of the Ocean, and to all other offices and prerogatives, and of the tenth of the Royal rents, and of all the other things that had been conceded to the said Don Xpóbal Colón, in order that His Majesty should hold, have and enjoy them for and as his own, and after many years, his successor and successors in the Royal Crown of Castilla ; and also undertook to hold, guard, and fulfil now and always, this cession and transfer for himself and his heirs and successors ; and renounced all source and assistance of the law which, in this case, could assist him ; and gave power to the Tribunals of the Nation, to the jurisdiction of all and every of which he submitted himself, for that by all the force of law he should be obliged by others to respect and comply with the terms of this renouncement ; and, in especial, renounced the law and right that is given and prevails where a *general* renouncement of his legal rights which any person might make, is of no value ; and the Licentiate, Joan de Villalobos, Fiscal of His Majesty, who was present, declared, that in the name and on the part of His Majesty and of the Royal Crown of Castile, he would accept and in the act accepted the said cession and transference, with expressed willingness and desire to retain and make use of the gift all that was useful and

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profitable in it to the advantage of the Crown, but not otherwise ; and requested testimony of its acceptance, to which there were present as witnesses Iñigo Lopez de Mondragon, a Scrivener of His Majesty, and Sancho de Arbolancha and Sancho de Portillo, and Diégo de Herrera, residents at the Court, which Iñigo Lopez and Sancho de Arbolancha swore, by God and by the Holy Cross and the Words of the Evangelists, that they knew the said grantor, and that he was named Juan Martin Pinzón ; and that as such Juan Martin Pinzón had seen and known him to be by all who knew him ; and because the said grantor stated that he did not know how to sign, nor could he possibly do so if he did, because he was sick and in bed, he requested the said Iñigo Lopez, the said witness, to sign for and on his behalf in his name, and who, and the said Fiscal, signed their names in my Register. The Licentiate, Villalobos. As witness, Iñigo Lopez.

And I, Bernal Darias, Scrivener to Their Majesties in his Court, Kingdoms and Dependencies, being present with the said witnesses to all that was affirmed, at the request of the said Licentiate Villalobos, Fiscal to His Majesty, of whom I give my Faith and Bond that I know, have duly recorded and written as these matters actually and truly passed before me, and duly made my sign and seal in pledge thereof in testimony of the truth. Bernal Darias.

Upon the claim made by the widow of Diego Colón, son of Cristobal Colón, on behalf of herself and of her son Luis Colón, for certain formal recognitions, judgment was issued by the Crown at Dueñas (near Valladolid), on the 27th August, 1534, against which both parties to it appealed. (Leg. 3, pieza 4.)

Amongst other documents in the litigation which followed, the following Interrogatories were put forth by the Fiscal of the Crown in support of his case, which contain some remarkable and valuable testimony and history with reference to this famous Voyage of Discovery of

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Colón and Pinzón, and not on record in our language ; it being clear and certain that the plaintiffs, the widow of Diego Colón and her son Luis Colón—then a minor—in their endeavours to establish their claims against the Crown, abundantly proved the claims of the family of Pinzón to be entitled to be considered as the real discoverer—not Cristobal Colón, but the unfortunate Martin Alonso Pinzón !

This record is as follows :

The Interrogatories which are to be put to the witnesses who, on behalf of the Fiscal of Their Majesties, are, or will be, presented in the lawsuit existing between Don Luis Colón and his consorts as to the offices of Admiral, Viceroy, and Governor, and other matters, are the following :

1. If they knew the parties to the suit, and if they had known Cristobal Colón and Martin Alonso Pinzón, both deceased.

2. Also, I request and supplicate that your Majesty order to be exhibited and read to the witnesses, the “Capitulación,” or agreement, made at Santa Fé de la Vega de Granada on the 17th of April, 1492, between the deceased Catholic Kings and D. Cristobal Colón, before Juan de Coloma, their Secretary ; and, similarly, that shall be shown and read to them the “Provisión,” or *dictum regium*, granted by the Catholic Kings in respect of the discovery of the said Indies, on the 30th April, 1492 ; and in the same manner should be exhibited and read to them another Privilege and confirmation of the said agreement, afterwards granted by the said Catholic Kings to the said D. Cristobal Colón in respect of the matter referred to in the city of Barcelona on the 28th of May, 1492 ; and, similarly, shown and read another Privilege and confirmation granted by the said Catholic Kings to the said Cristobal Colón on the 23rd of April, 1497 ; which documents having accordingly been so exhibited and read to them, declare as follows :

3. That if the witnesses knew, believed, saw, or had heard that the said “Capitulación,” or agreement,

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made at Santa Fé de la Vega de Granada, states, or has it, that the said Cristobal Colón for his life, and after his decease his descendants and successors in perpetuity were to be Admirals of the Islands and Main-land, which, by his industry and efforts had been reached and discovered ; that, if in that way or manner had to be guarded and held that “ Capitulación ” in perpetuity, it would be very damaging, prejudicial, and of the greatest harm to the Royal Crown, to whom alone belong the seas of those said Indies ; and that it would be very prejudicial if, within the limits of the seas and Kingdom, there should be an Admiral who might and could succeed to and inherit the said Office of Admiral and its jurisdiction without the approval of the Catholic Kings of Castile, and not in favour of the person they esteemed to be the most suitable ; and declare that which in respect of all these matters they know, believe, and hold for certain.

4. That if they knew, believed, saw, and had heard the facts to be as indicated and contained in the previous question, then it would certainly be very damaging, prejudicial—an enormous lesion to these Kingdoms of Castile and to the provinces and towns of the said Islands and Indies of the Ocean, and to the peoples and colonists resident and trading in these said Islands and Indies which communicate and trade with these Kingdoms of Castile ; and would suffer great subjection, damage, and lesion if they all should have to be subject to the jurisdiction and authority of the said Admiral—Colón—and render him account and pay to him taxes upon what they might take and bring or trade in ; that if the said office of Admiral were to be made a heritage in perpetual succession, then the subjects and natives of those Kingdoms and of the said Islands and Indies of the Ocean—vassals of their Majesties—would not be able to suffer and bear the many molestations and damages that they must necessarily receive on account thereof ; and those Islands and Indies will become depopulated ; and that the traffic and commerce existing between these Kingdoms and the said Indies will cease, resulting in an enormous lesion for the

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Royal Crown of these Kingdoms of Castile and against the republic of the said Kingdoms and the said Indies : let the witnesses declare what they know, believe, and hold to be true and certain.

5. If the witnesses knew, saw, believed and had heard it publicly stated that the said Privileges conceded by the said Catholic Kings to the said Cristobal Colón after the granting of the said Capitulation in which was extended the offices of Viceroy and Governor and others, to the sons, descendants and successors of the said Cristobal Colón, in perpetuity, and in all the other matters and concerns that by the said Privileges the said Capitulation extended and confirmed, as well as the other Privileges previously granted ; that if all that which was contained in the said Privileges and confirmation of them, and by the said Capitulation, had actually to be respected and maintained, it would result in very great damage and prejudice and an enormous lesion to the interests of the Royal Crown of Castile if those beforementioned offices of Viceroy and Governor and other offices and matters contained in the said Privileges should be continued to the successors and descendants of the said Cristobal Colón in perpetuity, without the previous assent and approval of the said Catholic Kings, to whom the Indies appertain and belong, and who would not be able to approve of nor remove the persons, and for the periods they might think fit and convenient ; and that the Royal pre-eminence would remain, also, almost useless if it did not possess the power of nominating and appointing people to those said offices : let the witnesses declare what they know of the various matters.

6. Similarly : that if that which has been alluded to in the previous question should happen : that the Colonists of the Indies living and trafficking there, and to these Kingdoms of Castile, and its subjects trading and negotiating with the said Indies, will suffer great loss and enormous damage—being vassals of their Majesties—in having to be subjected to and governed and directed by judges and authority not appointed by His Majesty, but

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by persons who, by title of succession, might inherit the said offices and command ; and that it will be the cause of division in the said Islands and Indies if there be various Princes and Authorities in time, causing the destruction of those Islands and Indies ; and that it will be an enormous injury and loss to the Royal Crown of Castile, and to its subjects, people and colonists residing in and trading there ; and that this is so and is equally true, public, and notorious : let the witnesses declare what they know.

7. That if they know and believe that what would be convenient to the public weal and common interest of the said Indies, and to the residents and traders there, is, that the offices of Viceroy, Governor, and all others of jurisdiction and authority, should be nominated, provided and appointed, in all time, by the Kings of Castile ; and by them removed and others appointed in their places when and as the said Kings of Castile should think fit and convenient so to do ; and that, on the other hand, those said offices not being so nominated and filled by the Kings of Castile, the *res publica* of the said Islands and Indies of the Ocean could not possibly live and prosper, and would be destroyed ; and that this is true, notorious, and public : let the witnesses declare what they know and believe.

8. If the declarants know and believe that before the said Cristobal Colón commenced to make or prepare the discovery of the Islands and Indies, and before the said Cristobal Colón had done so—in idea or in effect—that the said Martin Alonso Pinzón, a resident of Palos, possessed information and data about the said Islands and Indies, by means of a document he had obtained in Rome from the Library of Pope Innocent the Eighth ; and that by virtue of it the said Martin Alonso Pinzón had put into practice and prepared and fitted out an expedition to make the said Discovery of the Islands and Indies on his own account and at his own cost, with three vessels—his own property ; which occurred before the said Cristobal Colón had notice or information of them (the

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Indies) or had treated to go and discover them ; and that this is public talk and common fame and news, and was the general opinion of those persons who knew anything about the said matters and events.

9. If the witnesses knew that the said Martin Alonso Pinzón was a person intelligent and expert in the art of navigation upon the high seas, and possessed ships, means, brothers, relatives and friends and abundant resources for the making of the discovery of the said Islands and Indies ; and very much the better able to do so than the said Cristobal Colón, because the latter possessed neither means, effects, nor credit, as he was a stranger and unknown ; nor could he have found ships and crews, or means whatever to enable him to prepare and make the said Voyage of Discovery if they had not been facilitated, as they actually were, by the said Martin Alonso Pinzón ; and that the witnesses knew this to have been so, because they knew or had known both the one person and the other ; and if things, circumstances and matters had been otherwise, then the witnesses would necessarily have known, seen and understood.

10. If they were aware that the said Martin Alonso Pinzón, with the information, knowledge, means and resources that he possessed, associated himself with the said Cristobal Colón, when he returned from Rome, and found him at the Monastery near Palos, and gave funds to him to enable him to go to the Court to negotiate with the Catholic Kings—who were then at Santa Fé de la Vega de Granada—to arrange formally with them for the necessary authority to make the said discovery on the part of the said Martin Alonso Pinzón and himself ; the said Cristobal Colón, before he went, having agreed upon and arranged with the said Martin Alonso Pinzón to give him the half of all that which the said Catholic Kings might promise and award for the said projected Discovery of the Indies ; and that all that which was to be capitulated and agreed upon with the said Catholic Kings was to be divided equally between them, the said Cristobal Colón and the said Martin Alonso Pinzón ;

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and that this is true, public knowledge, notorious, and common and general opinion and information.

11. If they knew and were aware that meantime the said Cristobal Colón went to the Court at Santa Fé to negotiate with their Catholic Majesties ; that the said Martin Alonso Pinzón, as associate and partner of the said Cristobal Colón, prepared and fitted out three vessels belonging to him, aided and assisted by his brothers, relatives and friends, at the Port of Palos, to go and make the said Discovery of the Indies ; in which undertaking and preparation the said Martin Alonso Pinzón invested a very considerable portion of his fortune, and without the said Cristobal Colón providing anything, because of his very necessitous financial state and poor circumstances ; and that this was so, and true, public talk, and common knowledge and general opinion.

12. If they knew that the said Cristobal Colón, having returned from the Court after his conference with the Catholic Kings as to this discovery, the said Martin Alonso Pinzón resolved to go and make the said voyage in company with the said Cristobal Colón ; and that for that purpose the said Martin Alonso Pinzón employed his own three vessels, with his brothers, relatives and friends ; and with them as crews made this first Discovery of the said Islands and Indies of the Ocean.

13. If the witnesses knew that the said Martin Alonso Pinzón and his two brothers went as principal persons and captains of the vessels that proceeded on this Voyage of Discovery.

14. If they were aware and knew that, navigating the seas in that said voyage, and having voyaged 800 leagues to the West, the said Cristobal Colón became doubtful, uncertain, and confused, not knowing exactly where he was or whither they were going, and wished to give up and abandon the project and return to Spain ; and so indicated and expressed himself to the crews, and asked the said Martin Alonso Pinzón what *he* thought they should do ; and that the said Martin Alonso Pinzón scouted and condemned the idea of returning, and re-

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stored animation, confidence and hope of success to the said Cristobal Colón and to the crews, and exclaimed : *Adelante, adelante !* (" Forwards, forwards " !), that he himself was " determined to proceed and keep on until they finally reached the land he knew they must reach " ; and that they did so proceed forwards and continued to navigate, making the other vessels follow his lead, until they reached the land, as they did—the islands—by reason of the courage, example, and determination of the said Martin Alonso Pinzón.

15. If the witnesses knew that, prosecuting and continuing the said voyage, the said Martin Alonso Pinzón became convinced that they were somewhat mistaken in the course they were then taking, and should alter their course to the south-west ; that they did so alter their course, and that the said Martin Alonso Pinzón went on in advance of the vessel of the said Cristobal Colón, and reached land and discovered, first, the island named " Guanahani," a night and a day before the said Cristobal Colón came up with them ; and that the said Martin Alonso Pinzón landed, together with various others of his vessel, and took formal possession of it ; and that this is true and exact and public knowledge, information and notorious.

16. If they were aware that after the finding of the said land, " Guanahani," the vessels separated from each other, and that the said Martin Alonso Pinzón went on and discovered the island called " Española," and seven others, and anchored and remained at the said island of " Española " seven weeks before the said Cristobal Colón arrived at the said island of " Española."

17. If the witnesses were aware and knew that, having anchored at the said island of " Española," the said Martin Alonso Pinzón sent boats in search of the said Colón to the island of Yucayos, to the north-west, and found him and brought him to the said island of Española.

18. If they knew that when the said Martin Alonso Pinzón sent his boats in search of the said Colón and

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found him, that the said Colón had then lost his ship, and was without the means of being able to go to the said island of Española, or to any other place ; and would have been lost if the said Martin Alonso Pinzón had not so sent and made search for him, and brought him and his crew, as he did, to the said island, Española.

19. If they were aware that before the said Colón arrived at the said island of Española during the said seven weeks previous, the said Martin Alonso Pinzón had made considerable exploration of the said island of Española, and had found many samples of gold and obtained much also by barter with the natives ; and that with the samples of gold so found by the said Martin Alonso Pinzón on that island—after he had conferred with the said Cristobal Colón—they returned to Spain with the samples of gold referred to, which the said Martin Alonso Pinzón had procured—to give due account of the matters to their Majesties.

20. If they knew and believed that he who actually and really first discovered the said Islands and Indies of the Ocean, and who knew and discovered the secrets of them, was the said Martin Alonso Pinzón ; and that it was by his industry and efforts that the said discovery was made ; and that if it had not been for the aid of the said Martin Alonso Pinzón, the said Cristobal Colón possessed no possible means of making the expedition ; and that even if he had gone, he would have returned to Spain without discovering anything of the said Indies if the said Martin Alonso Pinzón had not gone—as he did—to make the discovery ; and that they knew this to be true and certain.

21. If the witnesses knew and were aware that the said Martin Alonso Pinzón, having discovered the said island—Española—and having anchored and landed there, gave name to the port or river where he had so anchored and named it the “ rio de Martin Alonso ” ; and that that place, port and river, is still so styled to-day ; because of his having been the first discoverer of that spot and of the

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said island of Española ; and to declare what they knew of the matter.

22. If they knew that, the first Discovery having been made, the said Cristobal Colón and Martin Alonso Pinzón returned to Spain to give account to the Catholic Kings of the said Discovery ; and that even then the said Cristobal Colón quarrelled with the said Martin Alonso Pinzón because of his wishing to declare to their Majesties all the actual facts and truth ; and they returned to Palos, to the house of the said Martin Alonso Pinzón, where they remained together until, being about to go to the Court to make their report, the said Martin Alonso Pinzón died of the illness he had brought with him ; and that this is true, public and common knowledge and opinion.

23. If the witnesses knew and were aware that the said Martin Alonso Pinzón left as his lawful son, born of legitimate wedlock, and as his heir, Juan Martin Pinzón, pilot, now a resident of the city of Huelva ; and that as such legitimate son of lawful matrimony of the said Martin Alonso Pinzón is taken and held and generally reputed to be the said Juan Martin Pinzón, resident of Huelva ; and that this is true, public knowledge and fame, and common and general opinion.

24. If they knew that after the making of the said first Voyage of Discovery, other pilots went by order of their Catholic Majesties to make further discoveries in the said Indies, and without the said Cristobal Colón having gone with them, discovered the Main-land of Paria and the island, and obtained pearls by barter ; and brought what they had so obtained by barter to the Catholic Kings before the said Cristobal Colón arrived there or knew anything of such matter.

25. If they knew and were aware that, similarly, other pilots and other persons, sent by their Catholic Majesties, without the said Cristobal Colón, who by their own knowledge and industry discovered on the Main-land toward the west the province now called Darien ; and brought from thence samples of gold to the Catholic

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Kings before the said Cristobal Colón had either discovered or visited the said Main-land.

26. If they knew that, in the same manner, other pilots after the making of the first Discovery went, by order of the said Catholic Kings, to discover—and discovered—the said Main-land, from the said Province of Darien, by the coast of Paria towards the east, without the said Cristobal Colón having intervened or taken part in the said further discoveries ; and that in the same way were made all other discoveries in the said Indies ; and to declare what they knew of these matters.

27. If the witnesses were aware and knew that after the said Cristobal Colón died, his son, Diego Colón, and, after him, his son, Luis, grandson of the said Cristobal Colón, have received large sums of money, and quantities of gold, pearls and other valuables—things belonging to their Majesties—under the pretext of being entitled to take one-tenth part of the Royal revenues as their own right or share, and with the pretext of being entitled to an eighth part of the harbour dues ; and to prove this request, and supplicate your Majesties to order and direct your Royal Decree to the officials of your Majesties who have been to or are now in the islands of Española, San Juan, Cuba, Jamaica, and Cubagua, and other places, for them to procure and obtain from the official records an account of all that which, by reason of the said pretexts, has been taken by the said Diego Colón, and afterwards by the said Luis Colón and the legal guardians acting in his name and on his behalf.

28. If they were aware and knew that all that which has heretofore been affirmed, declared and set out, and every thing and part of it, has been, was and is public report and voice, common fame and rumour, and general opinion, amongst and between the persons and people who know of all such matters by personal knowledge and information. Further, request and supplicate your Majesties to order and direct to be made to the witnesses, all such other questions as in the case and circumstances shall be deemed convenient and pertinent.

EVIDENCE OF JUAN PINZON

In Madrid, on the 28th of August, 1535, the Licentiate Juan de Villalobos, Fiscal of His Majesty, presented as a witness Juan Martin Pinzón, of Palos, as to the first and eighth Interrogatories, and all the others from thence until the last one, by him presented in the action-at-law against Luis Colón ; and of whose swearing-in were present as witnesses Sancho de Arbolancha and Juan de Tovar, both residents of this Court and city.

In Madrid, on the 1st September, 1535, the Licentiate Juan de Villalobos, Fiscal of His Majesty, presented as witness, Po. Al. Pedro Alonso, master mariner, of Ayamonte, as to the first, second, third, fourth, fifth and seventh of the Interrogatories, of which said Po Al., the formal oath prescribed by the law was duly taken, witnesses of which act present were the Licentiate Chaves, Relator of the Royal Council of the Indies, and Francisco Sanchez.

The said Juan Martin Pinzón, a resident of Palos, and a witness presented by the said Licentiate Juan de Villalobos, Fiscal of His Majesty, having been sworn in due form of law, and being examined as to the questions and matters set out in the Interrogatories, presented on his part, declared the following :

i.—As to the first question, declared that he personally knew Cristobal Colón and his son Diego Colón, and Martin Alonso Pinzón, father of the declarant ; and that he had known the said Cristobal Colón for about two years, more or less ; and the said Diego Colón for about four or five years ; and the said Martin Alonso Pinzón, his father, for about thirty years, more or less ; and also knew the said Fiscal by sight, and had had conversations with him three or four times in this city and Court.

This witness was examined also as to the usual formal general questions, and stated that he was sixty years of age, more or less ; was not related to either of the parties to this suit ; and was not concerned in any of the other general formal questions ; and desired that the King should gain this lawsuit.

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As to the eighth Interrogatory the witness declared that what he knew in relation to its tenor and meaning was that, living as he was in the house of his father, Martin Alonso Pinzón, and being then of the age of nineteen or twenty years, more or less, he saw, knew and heard his father state on many occasions, in the witness's presence, that he had brought a certain document from Rome, concerning the said Indies ; and also that his father agreed with the said Cristobal Colón that the latter should go on our part and arrange with the King, Don Fernando, and his Queen, Doña Ysabel, as to this Voyage of Discovery to the said Indies ; but the witness could not state whether or not the said Cristobal Colón previously had known anything about them ; and as to any of the matters indicated in this question, he had nothing to declare.

jx.—As to the ninth Interrogatory, the witness affirmed that he knew and was aware as is therein indicated and contained. Being asked how he knew, he replied that, as he had already stated, he was the son of the said Martin Alonso Pinzón, and had known him for many years ; and knew and saw that at the period referred to matters and things happened and passed as regards the said Cristobal Colón as are contained in and indicated by the Interrogatory ; and further knew that if their Majesties had not provided the said Cristobal Colón with the necessary authority to enable him to prosecute the Voyage of Discovery he could not possibly have made it, not having the means, being a poor person and a foreigner to these Kingdoms ; and further declared that if matters and things had been otherwise than as stated, then the witness would most undoubtedly have known, because at that time he was living in the house of, and with, his father, Martin Alonso Pinzón, at Palos.

x.—As to the tenth Interrogatory the witness declared that what he knew of the matter referred to was that on many occasions he saw the said Cristobal Colón in actual conference with his father, the said Martin Alonso Pinzón as to this Voyage of Discovery referred to, and knew that they agreed between themselves that the said Cristobal

EVIDENCE OF JUAN PINZON

Colón should go to the Court of the Catholic Kings to make efforts and arrangements to obtain the Royal authority to make the expedition ; and that the said Martin Alonso Pinzón gave money to the said Cristobal Colón to cover his expenses of journey from Palos, where he then was, to the Court, and whilst there, to the extent of sixty gold ducats ; and that the said Cristobal Colón agreed with the said Martin Alonso Pinzón to give him the one-half of all that which might be given by the said Kings as reward for the making of this Discovery ; and as to any other matters indicated by the question he, the witness, knew nothing.

xj.—To the eleventh Interrogatory the witness declared that what he knew about it was that the said Martin Alonso Pinzón, whilst waiting the return of the said Cristobal Colón from the Court, whither he had gone to carry out the negotiations for the authority to make this Voyage of Discovery, fitted out and prepared certain vessels, material, food, water, and certain other necessities for the voyage ; and that as to any of the other matters indicated by the question, he knew nothing.

xij.—To the twelfth Interrogatory the witness made answer that what he knew was that he saw the said Martin Alonso Pinzón and certain relatives, brothers, kinsmen, and friends of his and theirs, depart with the said Cristobal Colón to make the said Voyage of Discovery ; and that as to other matters indicated he knew nothing ; and that, previously, the said vessels had been owned by other persons, and not by the said Martin Alonso Pinzón or the said Cristobal Colón, but did not know how such previous owners were named.

xijj.—As to the thirteenth Interrogatory the witness stated that he knew as was contained in and indicated by it. Being asked how he knew, he replied that he knew because he himself saw what took place as is indicated by the question.

xiiij.—To the fourteenth Interrogatory the witness replied that he himself had heard said and stated all that which is contained in and indicated by this question from

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certain persons who had been with and went with the said expedition, on their return, but whose names he could not now well recollect.

xv.—To the fifteenth Interrogatory the witness declared that he had heard said all that which this question referred to, from certain persons who went or had gone with the said Expedition of Discovery, but whose names he could not now recollect and bring to mind.

xvj.—To the sixteenth Interrogatory the witness made answer that he had heard stated and affirmed all that was referred to in and by this question, from the said Martin Alonso Pinzón, his father, and by and from other persons whose names the witness could not now recollect, and who all knew the matters referred to as being public and notorious.

xvij.—To the seventeenth Interrogatory the witness declared that he knew nothing.

xviii.—To the eighteenth Interrogatory the witness declared that he had heard it stated by Vicente Yañez, his uncle, brother of the said Martin Alonso Pinzón, his father, that, voyaging in and as captain of one of the vessels at the same time or together with the said Cristobal Colón, who went in another vessel, that this latter vessel struck some rocks and was lost, and that the said Vicente Yañez saved and recovered on board his own vessel the said Cristobal Colón ; and that as to any of the other matters alluded to by the question, the witness knew nothing.

xix.—As to the nineteenth Interrogatory the witness declared that what he knew about the matters referred to by it was that he had heard the said Martin Alonso Pinzón, the father of the witness, say that he had landed on and had gone into the interior of the island of Española, and had found and obtained certain specimens of gold, and that afterwards they returned to Spain ; and that as to any other of the matters referred to by this question, he knew nothing.

xx.—As to the twentieth Interrogatory, the witness made answer that he had heard it said by the said Martin

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Alonso Pinzón, and by several of the mariners and others of the crews who had gone with him in the same vessel in this expedition which made the discovery of the said Indies, that they and the others who went with them in the said vessel were the first persons to find and discover the said Indies ; and that as to any other of the matters referred to in the question, he knew nothing.

xxj.—To the twenty-first Interrogatory the witness made answer that he had heard all that was referred to and indicated by this question from his father (Martin Alonso Pinzón).

xxij.—As to the twenty-second Interrogatory the witness replied that he had heard all that was therein referred to from the said Martin Alonso Pinzón, his father, before the witness went to the Madeira Islands, and that on his return from them to Palos he found that his father was dead.

xxiij.—To the twenty-third Interrogatory the witness declared that he knew what was referred to by the question because he (the witness) himself was the person alluded to.

xxiiij.—As to the twenty-fourth Interrogatory the witness affirmed that he had heard stated that which by the question is referred to, by certain persons whose names he could not now remember.

xxv.—As to the twenty-fifth Interrogatory the witness said that he did not know.

xxvj.—To the twenty-sixth Interrogatory the witness declared similarly.

xxvij.—To the twenty-seventh Interrogatory the witness affirmed in the same way.

xxviiij.—As to the twenty-eighth Interrogatory the witness answered that all that he had affirmed and declared was the truth, and was notorious and public matter, as he had sworn ; and signed his name in testimony thereof—Juan Martin Pinzón.

A most convincing piece of historical testimony and narrative.

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The said PERO ALVAREZ, master mariner, a resident of Ayamonte, and a witness presented by and on the part of the said Licentiate Villalobos, Fiscal of his Majesty, having first been sworn in due form of law, and being examined as to the questions contained in the Interrogatories presented by the said Fiscal, affirmed and declared as follows :

j.—To the first Interrogatory the witness declared that he had known the said Licentiate Villalobos, Fiscal of his Majesty, for some four months previously, more or less ; and as to the other matters alluded to in and by the question, he neither knew nor knows.

The witness was given the usual formal general questions, and declared that he was more than thirty years of age, and not in any way related to either of the parties to this suit ; and desired that he should gain it who had the most reason and justice in his case ; and that in him do not concur any of the other formal general questions.

ij.—As to the second Interrogatory the witness declared that after being shown the copies of the documents referred to in it, he knew nothing of the matters and circumstances contained in this question.

iiij.—To the third Interrogatory the witness made answer that he could only reaffirm what he said in reply to the previous Interrogatory.

iiij.—To the fourth Interrogatory the witness stated that what he knew of the matter was that to have such a post created as Admiral of the Indies would be to cause much prejudice to the masters of the vessels navigating and trading in those waters. Being asked how he knew that that would be so, he stated that he himself was a master mariner, and therefore knew that if there was an Admiral of and in the Indies he would be sure to impose very excessive dues and taxes upon the said master mariners and their vessels, and create other very onerous molestations, because there would be nobody in those parts (the Indies) to whom they might and could appeal for relief, and that they would therefore suffer much hindrance, prejudice and damage accordingly ; and that as

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regarded the other matters referred to in the question, he knew nothing.

v.—To the fifth Interrogatory the witness replied that he did not know.

vj.—As to the sixth Interrogatory the witness declared that he knew nothing.

vij.—To the seventh Interrogatory he affirmed that it appeared that it would be to the greater advantage of the public interests in the Indies if all the State offices should be nominated and appointed by the King, and not by any other person; and that as to the other matters referred to, he knew nothing.

xxviii.—To the twenty-eighth Interrogatory the witness declared that all that he had testified was true, public and notorious, as he had sworn to manifest; and that he did not sign this testimony himself, as he did not know how to write or sign.

This Proof is written and contained on this and other eight sheets of paper, and there is also written as to alterations and interlineations: they are valid and to be received. Done before me—Bernal Darias.

Proof made by the Admiral of the Indies, at Madrid on the 31st August, 1535, before Doctor Montoya. (Leg. 2, pieza 9.)

The six witnesses preferred, being examined on the Interrogatory of the eleven questions, affirmed as follows:

FRIAR FRANCISCO DE BOBADILLA, of the "Orden de la Merced."—That he knew something of the art of navigation, and had seen charts of the Voyage of Discovery.

JUAN LOPEZ DE ARCHULETA, Veédor of the island of Cubagua, a pilot.—That for about twenty years, more or less, he had voyaged in and about the coasts of the Mainland (of the Indies); and that he was a son-in-law of Diego de Porras, from whom he had heard about the voyages of Don Cristobal Colón; and had seen the "cartas de marear," or sea-charts.

PERO ALONSO, master mariner, of Ayamonte.—That as

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master of a vessel he had voyaged in and about those coasts and regions, and had in his possession a sea-chart approved of and certified by the Chief Pilot of His Majesty.

FRANCISCO RUIZ, of the hamlet of Cebreros.—That he went with Cristobal Colón on his voyage to the Main-land of the Indies.

DIEGO MENDEZ, of the Island of Santo Domingo.—That he was with the Court near to Granada when the Admiral made his pact to discover the new country ; and also met him again, at Barcelona, in 1493, upon his return from his first voyage. Had navigated and traversed a great part of those lands with the said Admiral, searching for a strait or exit to go through the Northern Sea, but never found one ; nor has any been discovered up to the present. That by order of the said Admiral he wrote in a book the details of the voyage, and of all such circumstances and events as they occurred ; and that during the voyage, the armada having arrived at the place called “ Punta de Caxinas,” which is to the west of the island called “ Guanajes,” near to the Cape Honduras, the said Cristobal Colón ordered the Adelantado, or Governor, Bartolomé Colón, his brother, to land with the banner of Castile and to take possession of it on the part of their Majesties ; and that the said Adelantado, with the said banner, and accompanied by others of the vessel, landed, cut branches of trees, and dug a trench in the ground with a spade in token of formal acts of possession on behalf of their Majesties ; and ordered this declarant, who was present, that, as chief Escribano, or clerk, of the armada, he should record the act and matter in writing and duly set it out in the Register ; and that in that way I duly obeyed and performed. That, similarly, he, the witness, set down the names given to the various spots and places. That he further believes that all this land, as far as the Strait of Magellanes, is main-land, by reason of what he saw and ascertained in his voyages, and as is recorded on the sea-charts. That he was present in the island of Cuba at the time that Grijalva returned from his expedition ; and

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when Hernan Cortes started with the armada for " Nueva España " (Mexico). Further affirmed that he is about sixty years of age, and can write and sign.

HERNANDO GUTIERREZ DE GIBAJA affirmed that he went with the fourth expedition of Cristobal Colón, and arrived, coasting from the Cape Honduras, at the Puerto del Retrete ; and also saw the placing of standards and the giving of names to various localities, on behalf of their Majesties, by the said Admiral.

This is taken from the original, which is written on fifteen pages, and is signed by the witnesses or declarants, and by the Escribano, or Scrivener, Bernal Darias ; and is contained in the Legajo, or docket, No. 2, and numbered 9, of the Archive of the Indies.

PROOFS OF THE LICENTIATE VILLALOBOS, FISCAL OF THE COUNCIL OF THE INDIES, IN THE NAME AND ON BEHALF OF HIS MAJESTY.

The " Legajo," or docket, No. 2 (bundle No. 5), of the said Archive contains the evidence and testimony of the twenty-four witnesses who appeared on the part of the Crown. Their names are as follows :

1. Lope Sanchez, boatswain, of Triana (Sevilla), aged 57.
2. Cristobal Cerezo, of Triana, aged 55.
3. Juan de Quexo, of Palos, aged 60.
4. Pedro Medel, of Palos, aged 58.
5. Alonso Rodriguez de la Calva, of Palos, aged 80.
6. Alonso Velez Allid, Chief Mayor of Palos, aged 70.
7. Bartolomé Martin de la Donosa, of Palos, aged 65.
8. Gil Romero, of Palos, aged 60.
9. Pedro Arias, of Palos, aged 65.
10. Diego Fernandez Colmenero, of Palos, aged 70.
11. Diego Rodriguez Ximon, of Palos, aged 50.
12. Fernando Valiente, of Palos, aged 70.
13. Pero (*sic*) Ortiz, of Huelva, aged 75.
14. Ferran Perez Camacho, of Huelva, aged 85.

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15. Ferran Yañez de Montilla, of Huelva, aged 80.
16. Gonzalo de Martin, of Huelva, aged 62.
17. Francisco Medel, of Huelva, aged 70.
18. Fernando Martin Gutierrez, of Huelva, aged 85.
19. Anton Romero, of Huelva, aged 64.
20. Alonso Gallego, of Huelva, aged 65.
21. Juan Roldan, of Moguer, aged 50.
22. Cristobal Roldan, of Moguer, aged 55.
23. Pero Benitez Codera, of Moguer, aged 70.
24. Pero de Cifuentes, of Sevilla, aged 40.

On the 22nd December, 1535, the above witnesses were present and examined, at Sevilla, by the Fiscal Villalobos, on the twenty-eight Interrogatories previously presented by him, and on the Proof of Juan Martin Pinzón of ten questions, and gave the following answers and testimony:

First to eighth Interrogatories : To the first eight questions they declared that the settlers and occupiers of the Indies will be the very much better governed by Judges and Authorities appointed by their Majesties ; some of the witnesses agreeing generally with the sense of the questions, others excusing themselves as being unable to affirm positively.

The ninth Interrogatory :

As to this GIL ROMERO declared that he knew Martin Alonso Pinzón, esteeming him to be well informed and intelligent in all matters of navigation, but never heard him say anything about making the Voyage of Discovery until Cristobal Colón arrived at Palos ; and that after it was authorised to be made, they joined together in the enterprise and embarked upon it. That is what the witness saw and knew.

FERNANDO VALIENTE.—Declared that he held Martin Alonso Pinzón to be a very intelligent person and skilful and dexterous in the art of navigation, although he (the witness) himself did not know much of the methods of navigation ; that he was a person of means and well connected ; that the witness knew and saw that Pinzón had, as his own personal property, two vessels, a “ carabela ” and

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a "barco"; and sometimes one vessel only—either a "carabela" or a "barco"; and, too, that Pinzón had much greater credit than Cristobal Colón, because no one knew him in this town of Palos, or who he was; and Martin Alonso Pinzón was exceedingly well known; and that if Martin Alonso Pinzón had not himself determined to go to make the Voyage of Discovery, then the said Cristobal Colón could not possibly himself have procured vessels or people to aid and accompany him; but as the people saw that Martin Alonso Pinzón, a person well known, rich and highly honoured, was determined upon going, then they also went with him and them. This is what the witness declared that he knew of the matter; and also that he was present at the time it all took place.

PERO ORTIZ.—Affirmed that Martin Alonso Pinzón was very dexterous in the art of navigation, and was held and esteemed to be so to such an extent that in those days there was not such another person of so much determination in whatever action, or war, by land or sea, as well as in whatever other matter; but that this witness did not know if the said Pinzón had navigated in Mar del Sur; he knew, however, that Pinzón had many honoured relations and principal people amongst the inhabitants of Palos; and, too, that he knew that Pinzón certainly possessed a vessel, continuously, as his own private property.

FERNAN PEREZ CAMACHO.—Stated that Martin Alonso Pinzón was a skilful pilot and an able captain in all seafaring matters, and a person very much esteemed in the town (Palos), and gave a good account of himself wherever he went and in all his undertakings, but did not know if Pinzón had navigated in the Mar del Sur. At the period under reference the witness saw and was of opinion that the said Martin Alonso Pinzón was very much better conditioned in means and circumstances than the said Cristobal Colón to make a voyage of discovery, because he had many well-to-do relatives and friends both at Palos and at other places he had visited; and that the witness saw the said Cristobal Colón in the town of Moguer

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quite a poor person and without any fame or credit to enable him to make any voyage at all.

FERNAN YAÑEZ DE MONTILLA.—Declared that he knew Martin Alonso Pinzón very well indeed, and that he was the most valiant person in the district ; that with only one vessel the Portuguese feared him in those days ; that not a single Portuguese vessel dared to encounter him ; that he was also a wealthy person and very skilful in the art of navigation, and appeared to the witness to be—and he thoroughly believed so—possessed of very much greater means and resources for attempting and making this Voyage of Discovery than had the said Cristobal Colón ; because, before he came and arranged with the said Pinzón to make the voyage, the witness had seen Colón in the town of Moguer as an ordinary person who had nothing and was in a state of necessity ; and was not known or possessed of any personal recommendation ; and it further appeared to the witness that if the said Martin Alonso Pinzón had not entered into the matter and given his powerful assistance to make the voyage, the said Cristobal Colón could not have found anybody else who could or would have joined in with him, because he was an unknown person ; and that this the witness knows, because he himself saw it all taking place.

FRANCISCO MEDEL.—Affirmed that Martin Alonso Pinzón was such a type of man that in all the Kingdom none other possessed such ardour in matters of adventure and war ; none more determined, none possessed such personal credit and merit for the fulfilment of any project ; and that sometimes he possessed one vessel, sometimes two, and on occasions three vessels, because the witness saw and knew that he owned them ; and was also a man well-circumstanced and who lived well ; and had three brothers and many much honoured relations and friends ; and possessed considerable outfit, means and resources to enable him to undertake and carry out such a Voyage of Discovery ; and, too, that Colón, on the other hand, was not known, nor had any means or credit, nor could have found or procured anybody to join him if it

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had not been for the said Martin Alonso Pinzón, for no other person would have joined or assisted him ; and this is all very public knowledge and information.

FERNANDO MARTIN GUTIERREZ.—Declared confirming what had been stated by the other witnesses, and added that the monks of La Rabida, at Palos, found Colón in food and shelter.

ANTONIO ROMERO.—Stated, confirming also the preceding testimony, that he had heard it said that Colón had previously gone to the King of Portugal for vessels and crews to make this Voyage of Discovery ; and that the said King had received him roughly and turned him away ; and that then the said Cristobal Colón went to their Catholic Majesties to procure their favour and assistance ; and that it was not conceded to him, because he was a poor and necessitous person and not possessed of any favour ; and that similarly he had also heard it stated that if he (Colón) had not joined hands with Martin Alonso Pinzón he would not have found anybody else willing to do so, nor vessels, because he was unknown ; and that he had heard it said by the people who had gone through their affection and admiration of the said Pinzón, that if he (Pinzón) had not gone in person nobody else would have attempted or dared to go ; and that that which he had thus publicly said was at the time the armada was being fitted out at Palos.

ALONSO GALLEGO—Declared that, for his part, as regarded the personal circumstances of Martin Alonso Pinzón, he was quite of the same opinion as the previous witnesses ; also, that if Colón had possessed the means and outfit necessary for the making of the Voyage of Discovery, then he would not have come to Castile, but would have made his preparations in Portugal, his wife's country ; and that he had heard it said by a resident from the frontier of Portugal that Colón came to take counsel and advice from the said person as being one who had been in the marine service of the King of Portugal, and had some notice or information about the Indies ; and in like manner said that Colón had been to seek the favour

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and assistance of the said King of Portugal to make this Voyage of Discovery, and that he was refused it as the proposition was thought to be a silly one ; and that after Colón had found that no assistance was obtainable in Portugal he had come to Castile to solicit the favour of the Catholic Kings ; and, too, that it was quite clear to this witness that if Cristobal Colón had not joined hands with the said Martin Alonso Pinzón, and prevailed on him to go with him in person, then the said Cristobal Colón never would have been enabled to make the expedition and voyage, nor to procure any person to join him, because it was generally esteemed to be such a lottery ; and that this was, and is, public and notorious matter and information.

The other witnesses limited themselves to declaring that they personally knew the said Martin Alonso Pinzón, esteeming and knowing him to be a person exceedingly skilful in seafaring matters, who was well connected and rich.

The tenth Interrogatory :

FERNANDO VALIENTE.—Affirmed that what he knew was that Cristobal Colón, before he went to negotiate with the Catholic Kings about this Voyage of Discovery, came to the town of Palos in search of support and assistance to enable him to carry out that enterprise, and lived, whilst there, at the Monastery of La Rabida ; and from there many times came to the town of Palos and had conversations with one Pero (Pedro) Vazquez de la Frontrera, who was a well-skilled mariner and previously had made a Voyage of Discovery under the Infanta of Portugal ; and that this Pero Vazquez de la Frontrera gave certain information to the said Cristobal Colón and Martin Alonso Pinzón, and stimulated the people to act ; and publicly urged them to go and make the voyage ; urging that they would be sure to find a rich country ; and this the witness knew because he was there and saw the said Cristobal Colón, and heard what also had been said by the said Pero Vazquez de la Frontrera ; and that it was so publicly spoken about in the streets of Palos at that time ;

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and, further, that the witness also saw that the said Martin Alonso Pinzón and Cristobal Colón went about together planning and projecting this expedition ; and that Cristobal Colón left Palos announcing that he was going to the Court to negotiate with their Majesties to obtain the necessary authority and means for the making of the armada ; and that Colón afterwards returned to Palos, and stated that he had obtained the necessary authority and means for the making of the voyage and armada ; and that after Colón had returned from the Court, the declarant saw that Martin Alonso Pinzón and Vicente Yañez, his brother, occupied themselves in obtaining and arranging the necessary matters and affairs for carrying out the expedition ; and duly fitted out the armada and sailed ; and that as to any other of the matters and affairs contained in or referred to by the question, he knew nothing.

FERNAN YANEZ DE MONTILLA.—Affirmed that all he knew was that Cristobal Colón went to the Court.

FRANCISCO MEDEL.—Declared that at the time the armada was being fitted out Martin Alonso Pinzón told him (the witness) that Cristobal Colón had agreed with him (Pinzón) to give him all that he wished or asked for.

ALONSO GALLEGO.—Stated that what he knew about the various matters referred to by this question was that at the time the said Cristobal Colón came to the town of Palos to agree upon and arrange to make this Voyage of Discovery, the witness saw and heard the said Colón say to the said Martin Alonso Pinzón, “ *Señor Martin Alonso, let us make this voyage, and if we carry it out, and, through God, discover this land, I promise to you, by the Royal Crown, to divide (equally) with you as though with my own brother* ” ; and that this which he (the witness) now stated he had himself heard said by the said Cristobal Colón on many occasions.

The other witnesses stated that they were ignorant of the matters contained in and referred to by this question.

The eleventh Interrogatory :

PERO ORTIZ.—Declared that at the time the armada

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was being fitted out to make the first Voyage of Discovery, he saw Cristobal Colón and Martin Alonso Pinzón going about preparing the vessels and getting crews together ; and that the witness himself would have gone with them if he had not been prevented from so doing by his father-in-law.

FERNAN PEREZ CAMACHO.—Affirmed that he saw that Cristobal Colón and Martin Alonso Pinzón and his brother, Vicente Yañez, worked together in fitting out the armada, and formed crews, to make the Voyage of Discovery ; and that it was then said that Cristobal Colón had come from some great person or authority as Captain-General of the said Armada, and had obtained and brought the authority of their Majesties ; and that the witness then heard it stated that they wished or intended to obtain from the gaol a certain number of the prisoners to form part of the expedition, because, it was said, the said Colón had procured the necessary authority to do so ; and that at the time of the departure of the expedition he (the witness) did not see them go, but heard it publicly stated that the said Cristobal Colón went as Captain in the largest ship, and that the said Martin Alonso Pinzón went as captain of a “ nao,” named the *Capitana*, and that Vicente Yañez Pinzón, his brother, went as captain of another.

FERNAN YANEZ DE MONTILLA.—Stated that he saw Martin Alonso Pinzón and his brother, Vicente Yañez Pinzón going about (in Palos) very much occupied in the fitting out of the vessels, and in getting together the necessary crews to man them, to make the Voyage of Discovery ; and that it appeared to the witness that, at that time, the said Cristobal Colón was absent from the town of Palos for many days ; and it was said that he had gone to the Vega de Granada (Santa Fé), where the Court then was. As to the other matters referred to by the question, he knew nothing.

ALONSO GALLEGO.—Affirmed that whilst Colón went to the Court about this discovery he saw that Martin Alonso Pinzón fitted out and prepared his vessels and got

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together the necessary crews and at the same time advanced money to many of them, as was necessary for their households during their projected absence, and until the said Cristobal Colón returned from the Court ; and who stated that the said Martin Alonso Pinzón was spending his own money and giving and providing ends and means out of his own private resources ; and that when the said Cristobal Colón returned from the Court the witness did not know whether or not Colón paid anything to the said Martin Alonso Pinzón.

PERO BENITEZ CODERO.—Declared that what he knew was that at the time the said armada was fitted out it was a well-known thing and so reputed (in Palos) that it was the said Martin Alonso Pinzón himself who was carrying out that matter, and getting together the crews ; but knew of nothing further in respect of this question.

The other witnesses declared that they knew nothing of the matters referred to by this question.

The twelfth Interrogatory :

CRISTOBAL CEREZO.—Stated that he had heard these matters referred to and mentioned by Bartolomé Colón, Andres Martin de la Gorda, and Juan Bermudez, who had discovered Bermuda.

JUAN DE QUEXO.—Affirmed that when Cristobal Colón returned from the Vega de Granada (Santa Fé), Martin Alonso Pinzón resolved to go with him on this Voyage of Discovery, and took with him two of his brothers, and some nephews and other relatives ; and that, thereupon, the witness determined to go with them.

FERNAN YAÑEZ DE MONTILLA.—Stated that after Cristobal Colón returned to the town of Palos, it was said publicly that he had come from the Court and had brought documents or authority from the Catholic Kings duly authorising the making of this Voyage of Discovery ; and that the witness then saw that Martin Alonso Pinzón went about openly encouraging the people (of Palos), haranguing them, saying: "*Friends, come here ; come with us on this journey ; you are here suffering much poverty and penury ; go with this expedition, for, according to fame and report,*

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we shall find houses ' with tiles made of gold,' and all of you will return rich and with good fortune " ; and that this, which the witness heard, took place ; and saw, too, that the said Martin Alonso Pinzón brought so much energy and zeal into play in getting the people together and animating them in the belief that what they should discover would be for them and their families ; and that because of his persuasiveness and of the great confidence that all had in him (Pinzón), many people of the towns of Palos, Huelva and Moguer joined the expedition.

ANTONO ROMERO.—Declared that, with his own boat, he took many of the crews on board the armada, as well as their personal effects ; and also saw that Martin Alonso Pinzón did the same with many of his relatives and friends who were going with him in the armada.

The thirteenth Interrogatory :

FERNANDO VALIENTE.—Declared that at the time of the sailing of the armada he observed that Martin Alonso Pinzón and his brother, Vicente Yañez, went as captains and principal officers of it.

The other witnesses declared similarly.

The fourteenth Interrogatory :

PEDRO ORTIZ DE MATIENZO.—Declared that at the time, or when the armada returned to Palos after having made the Voyage of Discovery, he heard it publicly said in Palos that after having voyaged for about 1,000 leagues the Admiral (Colón) told the crews that he thought they should not proceed any further ; and that then Martin Alonso Pinzón, and other principal friends of his who were with him, declared : "*Señor, we will go until 1,500 leagues have been passed, if necessary, and find the land*" : and they did.

CRISTOBAL CEREZO.—Affirmed that he had heard it so stated by Juan de Sevilla, a native of Palos ; by Juan Perez Vizcaino, a caulker and a native of Palos, and by others of this expedition.

JUAN DE QUEXO.—Manifested that he had heard it publicly stated by the greater number of those who had gone with this expedition that, having progressed some 800

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leagues, or more, the said Admiral (Colón), seeing that they had not yet reached land, asked Martin Alonso Pinzón and the other principal persons of the armada what they thought should be done, as they had travelled such a considerable distance without finding the expected land, and that the said Martin Alonso Pinzón told the Admiral: "*Señor, we have come to discover the land; let us go forwards, for in front of us is the land,*" and the expedition continued the voyage until they reached the land.

PERO ORTIZ.—Stated that he had heard it said by Bartolomé Colón, by Alonso Gutierrez Querido, and by Juan Ortiz, a cousin of the declarant who had gone with this armada, and from other persons who stated it publicly (in Palos), that if it had not been for the said Martin Alonso Pinzón the land never would have been discovered, because the discontinuing of the voyage was considered, and that the said Martin Alonso Pinzón then declared that they should continue their voyage for another two days' run, and would probably meet with land; and that they accordingly proceeded and, under Providence, were successful; and that from thence afterwards nothing else was talked of but how Martin Alonso Pinzón had animated the crews and prevailed upon them to go forwards—to continue the voyage.

FERNAN PEREZ CAMACHO.—Declared that he saw the armada return to Palos after its Voyage of Discovery, and went aboard the vessels and saw that they had brought back Indians and other signs and proofs of their having reached land, as well as other things; and that on board one of the vessels of the said armada was one Francisco Garcia Vallejos (*see list of the carabela Pinta*), a mariner, who said, publicly, to the witness and to Rodrigo de Vera and Anton Martin, and to many other pilots and persons who had gone on board with him, that having voyaged a great distance Colón became very embarrassed and doubtful, and said to the Captains, Martin Alonso Pinzón and Vicente Yañez Pinzón: "*What do you think we should do now that we have journeyed a very great distance and not yet reached land?*" to which Martin Alonso Pinzón

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replied : “ *Señor, we have come to serve God and the King, and we are not going to return to Spain until we find the land or die in the attempt* ” ; and that from that period, Colón having seen the wishes and determination of Martin Alonso Pinzón and his brother, Vicente Yañez Pinzón, determined to continue the voyage, and that they did so, until they reached the land sought for ; and in the same public way the said Francisco Garcia had stated that the said Martin Alonso Pinzón did a very great favour to and gave courage and animation to the said Cristobal Colón.

FERNAN YANEZ DE MONTILLA.—Affirmed that he had heard it said by many of those who returned with the armada, that having sailed some 800 leagues * Colón wished to give up the project and return to Spain, and that Martin Alonso Pinzón then told him : “ *How, Captain, after all this time, during which we have journeyed far, how can we possibly give up and return ? Adelante ! Adelante ! (Forwards ! Forwards !). We will keep on for three or four days, or even eight ! until we discover land, for it would not be consistent with our honour to return to Spain without having found it !* ” ; and that because of this plain and heroic speaking the said Cristobal Colón became angry and jealous ; but the said Martin Alonso and Vicente Yañez Pinzón continued the voyage forwards and separated from the vessel of the said Cristobal Colón, who, when he saw them determined to continue, followed after them, and in three days’ time met with land. And yet another thing declared this witness under the oath he had duly made—and it was that those persons who had made these statements had made them repeatedly and publicly in the squares and streets of the town of Palos, and also publicly stated, that if Colón’s intention had been accepted and followed by the others of the expedition, then the armada would have returned to Spain without having discovered the land ; and, too, that if it had not been for the efforts of the said Martin Alonso Pinzón and his brother Vicente Yañez Pinzón, the land would never have

* Taking the Spanish marine league at five kilometres, then about 2,000 miles.

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been reached, and that by them it had been discovered ; and this is the real truth and facts.

GONZALO MARTIN.—Testified that he accompanied the Admiral (Colón) on his second voyage to the Indies and that one Gutierrez Perez, who had made the first voyage, went with him (the witness) in this also ; and that whilst at sea the said Gutierrez Perez stated openly to the others of the crew that during the first voyage, having journeyed more than 800 leagues, the said Cristobal Colón broke down and told the said Martin Alonso Pinzón that, having voyaged for so long a time and not reached land, they should give up and return to Spain ; and that the said Martin Alonso Pinzón then told him (Colón) : “ *Ah, Señor, His Majesty has not sent us on this expedition to return in failure ! No ! I have supplies for a year, and am not called upon now to return ; with the aid of God I shall continue the voyage—forwards ! He, who aids me to go on will ultimately take me back from whence we started !* ” ; and that from thenceforward the said Martin Alonso Pinzón and Cristobal Colón fell out and became estranged and on bad terms with each other, and allowed their vessels to separate from each other ; and that the said Martin Alonso Pinzón proceeded ahead of the other vessels ; and had met with and discovered the land, and had landed, several days before Colón rejoined ; and that after he had so reached the land the said Martin Alonso Pinzón went back to search for the said Cristobal Colón to tell him the good news, and found that his vessel had been wrecked ; and that Colón and his crew had been saved and recovered by Vicente Yañez Pinzón, some of them being taken on board his own vessel and the rest of the crew on the other ; and that the said Gutierrez Perez had also stated that if it had not been for the action of the said Martin Alonso Pinzón, the said Cristobal Colón would have returned to Spain without having reached land ; and, further, that what he (the witness) stated he had also heard repeated by other persons as well whose names he could not now recollect ; and that in those days nothing else was discussed amongst seamen (at Palos, etc.)

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but that it had been only by means and reason of the industry, zeal and efforts of the said Martin Alonso Pinzón that the Indies had been discovered ; and that this was all public and notorious matter in those days—nothing more famous.

FRANCISCO MEDEL.—Declared that when the armada returned after having made the discovery, Martin Alonso Pinzón came back very ill, and went or was taken from his own house to the Monastery of “ La Rabida,” and that this witness went there to visit him ; and whilst talking with him and asking how he had got on in his expedition, the said Martin Alonso Pinzón told him (the witness) that after having sailed some 800 or 900 leagues Colón lost confidence, became dismayed, and told him : “ *Martin Alonso, we are lost ! What SHALL we do ? Those who saw us start will never see us return to Palos ! Let us return !* ” And that he, the said Martin Alonso Pinzón, replied : “ *Señor, God forbid that I should return, for I have yet to find, in front of me, the land I am searching for, and not to see Palos !* ” and that then the said Cristobal Colón had determined upon returning to Spain ; and that the said Martin Alonso Pinzón went on and continued his voyage ; and that when the said Colón saw that he had no option, followed in the track of the said Martin Alonso Pinzón ; and that, before the said Cristobal Colón could overtake him, he (the said Martin Alonso Pinzón) had reached land, and had landed and taken possession of it in the name of the King ; and that the land which he had so discovered and demarked was the Island of Santo Domingo ; and that when the said Cristobal Colón overtook the said Pinzón and found the land already marked out and taken possession of, it annoyed and weighed upon him greatly ; and he told the said Martin Alonso Pinzón that he should have obeyed him (Cristobal Colón) in conformity with the power and authority vested in him (Colón) by the King ; and that he, the said Martin Alonso Pinzón had thereto responded : “ *By (following) your wishes and authority we should have returned to Spain without having discovered the land ; I have discovered and*

COLON'S DESPERATION

taken possession of it, *and marked it in the name of the King ! To Spain we will now return, and there be heard in justice !* ” ; and that the said Cristobal Colón had become very jealous and unfriendly with him, and told him, (Pinzón) that he ought “ *to hang him from a doorpost !* ” and that he, the said Martin Alonso Pinzón, then replied : “ *Is THAT what I deserve for having placed you in the position of honour I have given you, for YOU to speak to me in THAT manner !!* ” ; and that besides this conversation the witness had publicly heard stated—because nothing else of importance was discussed—that the said Cristobal Colón had wished and attempted to give up this Voyage of Discovery and return ; and that the said Martin Alonso Pinzón had declared in answer that he for his part would not return and was determined to continue the voyage, and had discovered the land ; and that if it had not been for him (the said Martin Alonso Pinzón), then the land would never have been discovered ; and that those who made these statements *were those who had gone with this armada* ; and that, as such a long period of time had elapsed, he could not now remember their names ; and that this was all public matter and knowledge all through his district (Palos, Moguer, Huelva, etc.).

FERNANDO MARTIN GUTIERREZ.—Affirmed that at the time the armada returned from its Voyage of Discovery the witness heard from a nephew of his, named Juan Quintero, who had made the journey with Martin Alonso Pinzón, that, being engulfed in the ocean after having voyaged for a long period, and not having reached the land sought for, the said Cristobal Colón had said that they should return to Spain, being doubtful of their ever being able to reach it ; and that the said Martin Alonso Pinzón had replied : “ *Adelante ! Adelante !* ” (Forwards ! Forwards !). “ *I have not to return to Spain until I have found the land I came for !* ” and that Pinzón then continued his voyage and after two or three days reached land ; and that the said Juan Quintero then also said to the witness that the said Martin Alonso Pinzón had seen and noticed some birds of a kind that go out to

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sea to feed, and said : “ *That sort of bird breeds on land, and on land goes to rest !* ” ; and adopted the direction towards which the birds retired at sunset ; and that then steering westwards the said Martin Alonso Pinzón altered their course to the south-west and soon discovered the land ; and that the said Juan Quintero had further stated that it was by the industry and determination of *Martin Alonso Pinzón only* that the land had been discovered ; and that if the expedition had followed the wishes of the said *Cristobal Colón*, then they would all have returned without having made the discovery ; and that all this which he had declared was publicly said by all those who returned with the expedition ; and nothing else was talked about but what he had already declared ; and also, that if Martin Alonso Pinzón had lived, all that had been given to Cristobal Colón should and would have been given to him (Martin Alonso Pinzón), for he it was who really discovered the land—the Indies.

ALONSO GALLEGO.—Stated that those who returned to Palos of the Armada of Discovery publicly affirmed that, having voyaged for about 1,000 leagues, the vessel in which went Cristobal Colón fired a gun, and that Martin Alonso Pinzón, whose vessel was ahead, detained it and said to Cristobal Colón : “ *Señor, what is your pleasure ?* ” and that Colón replied : “ *Martin Alonso, the crew of my vessel are murmuring, and wish to discontinue the voyage, and I agree with them, for we have now voyaged for such a length of time and distance and not yet found land* ” ; and that Martin Alonso Pinzón thereupon said : “ *Señor, recollect that in the house of Pero de Velez de la Frontrera I promised you, by the Royal Crown, that neither myself nor any of my relatives or kin would return to Palos without having discovered land, as long as the crews had good health and plenty of supplies ; and now, whilst they are of good health and the ships in good condition, and that we have abundant provisions, for what reason should we think of returning ? As for those who wish to give up the voyage and return, let them do so. As for myself, I am determined to go forwards. I have to discover the land or perish in the*

PINZON'S RESOLUTION

attempt and undertaking ! ” ; and that thereupon Pinzón continued his journey, and after the lapse of a few days discovered land ; and further declared that that which he had stated was publicly and openly said in Palos, etc., by those who had made this Voyage of Discovery in that armada ; and no other matter was so much talked about amongst the people but that the said *Martin Alonso Pinzón had first discovered the land*, and that if it had not been for him, then Colón would have given up the project and returned, having failed ; and that all this was common talk and comment at the period alluded to.

JUAN ROLDÁN.—Affirmed that he heard Juan de Jerez, who went with him in the armada, say that after having sailed some 700 or 800 leagues the greater number of the crew of *the vessel of Cristobal Colón* told him (Colón) that they did not wish to continue the voyage, because the currents and wind were with them and that they would not be able to return if they wished ; and frequently plagued Colón to give up the project and return ; and that the said Martin Alonso Pinzón requested them not to give up, and that if, effectually, they determined to abandon the project and return to Palos, the said Martin Alonso Pinzón exclaimed : “ *I am not going to give up the project until I have reached land, but those who wish to do so, let them return !* ” ; and that the expedition thereupon continued to go forwards, and in one or two days reached land ; and, further, that the said Juan de Jerez had told to the witness and to others, at Palos, that he (Juan) was the first person to go ashore in order to gain a certain promise or award which the said Cristobal Colón had promised to give to the first man who should touch the land * ; and had heard it stated that this land is the island called “ Deseada.” †

The other witnesses, GIL ROMERO, PEDRO MEDEL, DIEGO RODRIGUEZ XIMÓN, FERNANDO VALIENTE, ANTÓN ROMERO, CRISTOBAL ROLDÁN, AND PERO BENITEZ CODERA, declared that they had also heard publicly stated and

* The promise was to the first person who *saw* land.

† This island was not discovered until the second voyage.

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affirmed the various matters referred to in and by this question.

The fifteenth Interrogatory :

ALONSO GALLEGO.—Declared that he had heard that which was referred to in this question stated by and from the people who had returned with the armada, and in particular from Pero de Arcos, who was one of the crew of the vessel in which went Martin Alonso Pinzón.

The other witnesses confirmed what they had already declared.

The sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth Interrogatories :

Several of the witnesses declared that they had heard it so said, and others stated that they did not know.

The nineteenth Interrogatory :

FRANCISCO VALIENTE.—Affirmed that he heard those who had returned with Martin Alonso Pinzón say that from having crossed so many rivers, and having explored so much country, the said Martin Alonso Pinzón contracted the illness from which he died.

ALONSO GALLEGO.—Declared that at the time of the return of the armada from the Voyage of Discovery it was publicly said that the crew of the *vessel of Martin Alonso Pinzón* had gone ashore *before the vessel of Cristobal Colón had arrived*, and had explored it, and had obtained, by barter, from the natives gold and other valuable things ; and that from the time of the arrival of the said Cristobal Colón—from the moment when he ascertained that they had been ashore and had obtained gold—he (Colón) was very much chagrined because they had done so, and ordered that none of them should make known the facts of the matter on their arrival to the King; and also for that same reason—the prior discovery—Colón had quarrelled with the said Martin Alonso Pinzón, and that they were on bad terms ; and that this is what he knew, and not anything else, of the various matters referred to by this question.

The other witnesses adhered to what they had already declared.

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The twentieth Interrogatory :

PEDRO MEDEL.—Declared that about the month of November, in 1523, he had been questioned as a witness about the various matters indicated by this Interrogatory, on the part of Juan Martin Pinzón, a resident of the town of Huelva (*sic*), before Diego Prieto, Chief Mayor of this town of Palos, and that his testimony was taken by Alonso Hernandez de Senabria, a scrivener of the said city ; and that his testimony referred to, now being exhibited and read to him ; and also the twenty-first, twenty-second and twenty-third questions of this Interrogatory, declared that what he had then said and deposed was the truth ; and that he now reaffirmed and maintained all that he had previously declared and ratified it accordingly.

The other witnesses referred to also confirmed what they had already declared as to the fourteenth Interrogatory.

The twenty-first Interrogatory :

LOPE SANCHEZ.—Affirmed that he had been in the Indies, on the island of Santo Domingo, at the port of Ysabela, which was the first place to be peopled by Christians ; and that higher up this coast is a river named “ the Rio de Martin Alonso Perez ” (? Pinzón) ; and that the witness had questioned various people at the “ Isla Española ” why this river had been so named ; and they told him.

The twenty-second Interrogatory :

JUAN DE QUEXO.—Declared that he had heard persons who had made the Voyage of Discovery say that Colón and Martin Alonso Pinzón became estranged because the said Pinzón had separated from Colón and had gone on and discovered the place and river that is to-day called “ the Rio de Martin Alonso Pinzón ” ; and had anchored and stayed there ; and that after the return of the armada to Spain—about fifteen or twenty days afterwards—the said Martin Alonso Pinzón died in this town of Palos.

GIL ROMERO.—Affirmed that on the return of the armada he had heard it said in the town—Palos—that Cristobal Colón and Martin Alonso Pinzón had come

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back estranged, having quarrelled on the voyage ; but did not know the precise cause or reason ; but knew that a short time after Martin Alonso Pinzón returned to Palos he died there ; and the witness saw him buried.

ALONSO GALLEGO.—Stated that he had heard it said that Martin Alonso Pinzón and Cristobal Colón had returned from their expedition estranged, because the said Cristobal Colón had maintained that none of the expedition should obtain by barter or take anything of the country from the natives, so that they should not obtain or procure information and practical knowledge of the country unless under his instructions ; and that the witness knew and saw that the said Martin Alonso Pinzón died shortly after his return to Palos.

The other witnesses adhered to their previous declarations.

The twenty-third Interrogatory :

The witnesses affirmed that they knew what they had stated, because the matters were notorious and public information.

The twenty-fourth, twenty-fifth, and twenty-sixth Interrogatories :

The witnesses as to these declared that they had heard it said and knew that by order of their Majesties certain Captains had been sent on voyages of discovery without being accompanied by the said Cristobal Colón.

The twenty-seventh Interrogatory :

JUAN DE QUEXO.—Declared that whilst at the “ Isla de las Perlas ” (Santa Margarita ?) he obtained a certain quantity of pearls and handed them over to the “ Casa de la Fundición ” in the Island of Santo Domingo, and there saw that one-fifth part was separated for the King ; and that of that one-fifth part they made ten or nine portions—did not quite remember how many—and one part was given to Cristobal Colón, and the others to the King ; and in that way were treated all other things of value brought to the said “ Casa de Fundición.”

The other witnesses knew nothing of these matters.

The twenty-eighth Interrogatory :

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All the witnesses ratified and confirmed what they had previously declared as to the matters referred to in this question.

PROOFS MADE ON THE PART OF THE FISCAL OF HIS
MAJESTY THE KING IN SANTO DOMINGO ON 26TH
JANUARY, 1536.

The witnesses, being examined on the Interrogatories before set out, declared as follows :

HERNAN PEREZ MATEOS, a resident of Santo Domingo, of more than eighty years of age, and a cousin of Martin Alonso Pinzón.—Affirmed that this latter was an expert seaman and navigator on the high seas—to Naples and Rome, in Italy, and back to Spain, and in the other seas that were being traversed and frequented some fifty years before ; but did not know whether at that period he had any knowledge of this particular part of the ocean—the Indies ; and that it was quite true that the said Martin Alonso Pinzón had brothers, relatives, kinsmen, and friends who were also well practised and skilful in navigation, which the said Pinzón knew ; and also remembered that the said Pinzón owned a vessel in which he navigated from Spain to Rome, to Portugal and to the Canary Islands ; and did not know that he (Pinzón) possessed any interests greater than that of the sea, although it was also true that he owned a rather considerable landed estate ; and that as to the other matters alluded to in and by the question he knew nothing.

[The reflection arises, what particular question was alluded to, or is this meant to apply to the first nine Interrogatories ?]

The tenth Interrogatory :

That it referred to the pact made by Colón with their Majesties, and knew nothing further.

The eleventh Interrogatory :

Did not know more than that when Don Cristobal Colón came to Palos with the favour of the authority to

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make the Expedition of Discovery to these parts (the Indies), he associated himself with Martin Alonso Pinzón and his two brothers, Vicente Yañez and Francisco Martin Pinzón, who went with Colón, as the principal persons of the armada, in three vessels named *la Pinta*, in which went Martin Alonso Pinzón as captain and Francisco Martin Pinzón, his brother, as master ; the *la Niña*, in which went as captain Vicente Yañez Pinzon ; and the *Maria-galante*, in which sailed the said Cristobal Colón ; and that the said vessels were chartered by the said Colón to come to these parts ; and that he knew nothing further ; and that that which he stated he himself saw take place, having been present at it all.

The fourteenth Interrogatory :

That he knew nothing further than that he had heard it from Martin Alonso Pinzón and his brothers, that when voyaging to these parts, having navigated for a long period without yet meeting with any land, the crew of *the vessel of Cristobal Colón* threatened to mutiny and rebel against him, saying that they were lost ; and that the said Cristobal Colón informed the said Martin Alonso Pinzón of what was then passing amongst his crew, and asked him what he thought they should do ; and that the said Martin Alonso Pinzón responded : “ *Señor, hang half a dozen of them, and throw their bodies into the sea, and if you are afraid to do so, I and my brothers will come to your vessel and do so. This armada, which has sailed in a Command of such great importance, cannot return without good news !* ” ; and that this firm and courageous reply restored discipline, courage and animation ; and that the said Cristobal Colón then said : “ *Martin Alonso, with these good people we will now get on well, and we will continue on for some few days more ; and if then we should not reach the land we will then give such other disposition as to what we should best do in the circumstances* ” ; and that the armada then proceeded onwards for another seven days, and at nightfall saw light on a land which they called “ *las Princesas*,” and now known as the “ *Lucayos* ” ; and that this is what had been told to the witness, and what had also been told

“HANG HALF A DOZEN OF THEM!”

to him by the said Martin Alonso Pinzón and his brothers.

[NOTE.—As has been observed elsewhere, the crew of Colón's vessel was composed of that class familiarly called in shipping jargon “land-lubbers.”]

The nineteenth Interrogatory :

That he had heard many persons affirm, and chiefly amongst them the said Martin Alonso Pinzón and his brothers, that the said Colón had found in this island—“Española”—samples of gold, and also obtained some by barter from the natives ; and with what they had been able to gather together in the way of valuables, had returned to Spain to give an account of their discoveries to their Majesties ; and that at the time the said Martin Alonso Pinzón arrived at Bayona (near Vigo), the witness saw and talked with him, as was but natural ; and the said Martin Alonso Pinzón gave relation and account of all that had occurred during the said voyage ; that the said Cristobal Colón had departed from the place now called Puerto Real ; and he, the said Martin Alonso Pinzón, from the Puerto de Gracia, on their return ; and that they had rejoined on the high seas ; that a storm had caused the ships to separate ; and that the said Cristobal Colón had gone to Lisbon, and that he, Pinzón, had arrived at Bayona.

The twenty-first Interrogatory :

That he, the witness, had only heard it said that there had been given to a river on the north side of this island the name of *el rio de Martin Alonso* ; but whether the said Martin Alonso Pinzón had or had not reached and entered this river—which the witness had many times entered—he (the witness) was unable to say.

The twenty-third Interrogatory :

That he knew Juan Martin Pinzón to be the legitimate son of Martin Alonso Pinzón.

The twenty-fourth Interrogatory :

That what he knew was that he (the witness) went with the said Cristobal Colón on his second voyage as his pilot, and then made the discoveries mentioned.

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JUAN DE ROJAS, a resident of Santo Domingo, and seventy years of age, declared :

To the fourteenth Interrogatory :

That he did not know more than that the witness went with Cristobal Colón on his first voyage, during which the crews became very rebellious because of the great length of the voyage without result, and were very much angered against the said Cristobal Colón because they had not yet reached the land after so long a time ; and that the said Cristobal Colón animated them to continue, and told the crews : “ *Do not have unpleasant thoughts or rebel, for, God willing, to-morrow we will see the land, and, if not, return, and do what you like.* ” That the following day they came to the island which they named “ la Deseada ” ; but knew nothing further.

To the sixteenth Interrogatory :

Knew nothing further than that the said Cristobal Colón discovered all the islands which at that time were discovered ; and nobody said that they had been discovered by anybody else ; and that at the various places they touched, they hoisted the emblems of the Church and King—that is, the Cross for God, and a Standard in the name of the King.

To the nineteenth Interrogatory :

That he had heard it said that Cristobal Colón and other persons who were with him, returned to Spain taking with him samples of the gold they had found and procured ; and gave due report to their Catholic Kings of what they had seen and discovered ; and that then it was that the said Cristobal Colón covenanted with Their Majesties as to that which is contained in the “ Capitulations ” ; and that when that was done, he (the witness) was at the Vega de Granada (Santa Fé).

The other declarations do not offer any interest.

Now let us hear the testimony preferred by the other party :

Audi alteram partem.

A WORD FOR COLON

PROOFS OF THE ADMIRAL DON LUIS DE COLÓN IN THE
LAWSUIT HE HAS FORMULATED WITH THE FISCAL OF THE
CROWN AS REGARDS THE SENTENCE PROMULGATED AT
DUEÑAS.

At Sevilla, the 31st December, 1536, before the honourable Señor Gonzalo de Almonacid, Mayor in Ordinary, and in the presence of Juan de Baena, a public scrivener ; appeared Francisco de Aguilar, in the name of and as Procurator of Doña Maria de Toledo, “ vireina ” of the Indies, as *tutora et curadora* —“ curatrix ”—of the person and estates of Don Luis Colón, her son, Viceroy, Admiral and Governor of the said Indies, and of his brothers, which legal power he duly exhibited, by virtue of which and of the acknowledgment of its reception and admission—at the same time were presented the Interrogatories which would be required to be put to the witnesses he would present on the part of his clients.

The first Question :

Firstly : “ If they knew or had known Don Cristobal Colón, first Admiral, Viceroy and Governor of the said Indies ; and Don Diego Colón, his son, Admiral of the same ; and Don Luis Colón, his grandson, also Admiral, Viceroy and Governor of the said Indies ; and also the Licentiate Villalobos, Fiscal of His Majesty.”

Several of the witnesses affirmed that they had not known Don Cristobal Colón.

The second Question :

Also “ if they knew or were aware that the said Cristobal Colón, first, before anyone else, discovered the said Indies, Islands and Mainland of the Ocean ; and that no other person, before him, had or possessed any information about them.”

SEBASTIAN CABOTO.—Declared that Solinus, an historical cosmographer, states that from the “ Fortunate Isles,” now called the Canary Isles, journeying or sailing westwards in the ocean for the space of thirty days, are the Islands named the “ Hesperides ”; and that these islands,

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the witness presumes, are the islands which were discovered in the time of the Catholic Kings of Glorious Memory ; which he had heard said by several people, in this city of Sevilla, had been discovered by the said Cristobal Colón.

[This Sebastian Caboto was our well-known countryman, and famous seaman, of Bristol ; and this record conveniently fills in a page of the very interesting history of this family.]

LUIS DE SANTIESTEBAN.—Affirmed that he saw the said Cristobal Colón when he first came to this city (Sevilla), and saw that he brought with him Indians and certain new things (from foreign lands); and that when he (Colón) went on his second voyage to colonise the said Indies, with seventeen vessels, the witness went with him, and also went about with him a good deal in the many islands and provinces which he had discovered ; and that then the witness knew and heard of and from many persons that the said Cristobal Colón had discovered the said Indies, Islands and Mainland.

ALONSO DE SANTA CRUZ.—Stated that he had heard Don Fernando Colón declare that he was a son of Don Cristobal Colón.

The other witnesses had also heard this affirmed publicly.

The third Question :

Also “ if the witnesses knew that the Province of Pária, which was discovered before the Mainland, commences from the river Marañon, which is to the east, and terminates in the Province of Cumaná, on the west, where is situated the island of Margarita, and Cubagua, where pearls are sought for.”

ANTON QUINTERO.—Declared that he knows and maintains that the Province of Pária is the Mainland, because he was born there ; and has gone along the coast as far as the Province of Cumaná ; and that this Province extends E—W ; but as to the other matters indicated by this question he knew nothing.

ALONSO DE SANTA CRUZ.—Affirmed that the Province

SEBASTIAN CABOT OF BRISTOL

of Pária commences at the river Dulce, which is fifty or sixty leagues from the Island of Trinidad, which is at the mainland on the east, and terminates at the Province of Cumaná on the west, where is the Island of Margarita, and Cubagua, where pearls are obtained. He knows this because he (the witness) is a cosmographer, and has proved the Official Chart of the Navigators of all these lands with the Licentiate Carvajal, who now lives in this city (Sevilla).

DIEGO GUTIERREZ.—Manifested that the Province of Pária commences at the mouth of the Drago, which is on the mainland, and terminates at the Island of Margarita near to the port of Cumaná ; and that he knows this to be so, because, being a cosmographer and a person well understanding these matters, he has obtained information from pilots who have navigated in those parts.

FERNANDO BELTRAN.—Stated that he knew it to be so, because he had navigated in those parts.

The fourth Question :

Also “ if the witnesses knew that the Province of Pária, and Cumaná, and Manacapana, and Venezuela, and Santa Marta, and Cartagena, and the Darien, also called the Castillo del Oro, and Puerto del Retrete, and Nombre de Dios, and the port of Bastimentos, and Puerto Bello, and Puerto Gordo, and the Cabo del Peñon, and Veragua and the Cabo de Gracias á Dios, and the Cabo de Honduras ; and Punta de Caxinas, and Yacatan, and La Nueva España, and La Florida, and the land called Los Bacallaos, is all one coast and land generally called the ‘ tierra-firme,’ or mainland ; and that it is all joined together without there being any strait or arm of the sea separating one province or land from another ; and that there is not any other mainland but this in all the land that has been discovered in this ocean.”

SEBASTIAN CABOTO.—Declared that all the Provinces mentioned in this question, as far as the river Santi Spiritus, he believes to be mainland ; because he has seen it to be so, and has also known it from pilots who have navigated in those localities, and from the sea-charts now in

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use ; and that from the river Santi Spiritus onwards, to Florida and Los Bacallaos, this witness is unable to determine or affirm if it is all mainland or not.

ALONSO DE SANTA CLARA and DIEGO GUTIERREZ held it to be certain, because in that manner it is set out in the seacharts, and in the " Patron " now being compiled.

The other witnesses opined similarly by reason of what they had seen and heard.

The fifth Question :

Also " if the witnesses knew that after the said Admiral had discovered the said Province of Pária, and coming from thence to the west towards the Province of Darien, that he made another voyage, from east to west, and commenced from in front of the islands called ' los Guanajes Occidentales,' and coasting along the mainland to the west, arrived at the point called Caxinas, and there ordered his ' Adelantado '—his brother—to land and take possession on behalf of Their Majesties the Catholic Kings—who now rest with God, Don Fernando and Doña Ysabel ; and also knew that the said ' Adelantado ' went ashore with a standard, and followers, cut branches off trees with his sword ; cut a trench in the ground with the aid of a spade ; and performed all such other offices and acts corresponding to such a formality and occasion ; and took formal possession of those lands and provinces—on the west as well as on the east—for and on behalf of Their Majesties, in their names ; and ordered Diego Méndez, chief Scrivener of the Armada and Expedition, to write and set down in the book of his registry the testimony of the act of taking formal possession of the said lands on the part of Their Majesties ? "

GONZALO CAMACHO.—Declared that he was present at the act of taking possession by the ' Adelantado ' of the Indies—a brother of the Admiral (Colón) ; and saw performed many acts, such as the digging of a trench in the ground, and with his own sword cut off branches of trees.

ANTON QUINTERO.—Affirmed that he had heard it stated by one Diego Rodriguez Ximón, a mariner, formerly of Palos, and by other persons too, that the said

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Cristobal Colón had gone to make the discovery of, and arrived at the Islands named "Guanajes"; and that he stayed there a time; and that from thence he returned to the east, coasting the land; and that he had entered in the river called Belén, which is on the mainland; and that in that river he left one of his vessels, because he was unable to get it away; and that he was there a number of days pacifying the Indians; and that from thence he sailed, and arrived at the "Puerto del Retrete"; and that from that place he came to Jamaica, which is an island; and that he remained there many days; and that from that place he had sent, in "canoas," Diego Mendez, scrivener, to the Island of "Española" for vessels, in which they could return and continue this voyage; and that this witness had heard the said Diego Rodriguez Ximón state, as well as many other persons, natives of Palos, who had voyaged with the said Cristobal Colón, that all the places at which the said Cristobal Colón touched, he took possession of.

Several of the witnesses had heard it stated as is indicated by and in the question; others did not know.

The sixth Question:

Also "if the witnesses knew that from thence they navigated to the Cabo de Honduras, and to the 'Cabo de Gracias á Dios'; and to the island of 'Cariay'; and to the 'Puerto de Cerabaro'; and to the land called Cob-raua; and to 'Veragua'; and to the 'rio de Yebra,' which they named Belén; and to the 'rio de los Lagartos'; and to the 'Puerto Gordo'; and to the 'Puerto Vello'; and to the 'Puerto de Bastimentos'; and to the 'Nombre de Dios'; and to the Puerto del Retrete; and reached as far as the land of Darien; which is all one and the same coast—as has been said?"

The witnesses affirmed that they had heard it said as is contained in and indicated by the question.

The seventh Question:

Also "if they knew that the said names of the said provinces, capes, islands, and ports were put and given to them by the said Almirante Don Cristobal Colón, when

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he discovered them ; and that he entered in all the said places ; and that from thenceforward they have retained the names which the said Admiral gave to them ; and that this is true and notorious ? ”

GONZALO CAMACHO.—Declared that he saw those names given ; whilst others stated that they had heard it said, as is indicated by the question.

The eighth Question :

Also “ if they knew that all this mainland referred to has to the north the sea called the ‘ Mar del Norte ’ ; and to the south the ‘ Mar del Sur ’ ; and that the said land is situated between those two seas ; and that in some parts it is wider than in others—as in the case from the Nombre de Dios to Panamá, where it is eighteen leagues in extent ? ”

The witnesses stated that they knew it to be as indicated by the question.

The ninth Question :

Also “ if they were aware that the Province of Perú and from thence to the Strait called Magallanes is the same mainland discovered by the said Admiral ; and contains within it the Province of Darien ; and Retrete, and Nombre de Dios, and Veragua ; and that all parts of it can be reached by land, because it is all one, continuous country ; and also that it can be navigated by sea by the other coast of the ‘ Mar del Sur ’ ? ”

Most of the witnesses knew that it is so.

The tenth Question :

Also “ If they knew that all these provinces and country thus named and designated—with many others in and amongst them—are thus recorded in the seacharts which are the guide to all the pilots and mariners voyaging in those parts ; and that they all compose one coast and one country ; and if they knew that such charts are proved as correct and true, because if that were not so, then navigation could not be performed there with safety and exactly ? ”

SEBASTIAN CABOTO.—Declared that all those lands, or the greater part of them, are contained and figure in the

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seacharts ; and that many of these charts differ from each other ; and that now the Licentiate Suarez de Carvajal, " Oidor " of the Council of the Indies, has ordered them all to be brought in with the object of making a new " Padron " for navigators.

ALONSO DE SANTA CRUZ.—Affirmed that he knew, because he well understood the matter ; and that now, in the more perfect " Padron " about to be made for Navigation, by agreement, by the Licentiate Carvajal, all these provinces, places and lands will be duly recorded in it.

DIEGO GUTIERREZ stated similarly.

The eleventh Question :

" If the witnesses knew that Diego Velazquez, acting on behalf of the Admiral (Colón) as Lieutenant-Governor in the Island Fernandina de Cuba, ordered Nueva España to be conquered and settled ; and if they knew also that by order of the said Lieutenant, Diego Velazquez, and at his cost, it was conquered and populated by Don Fernando Cortes and Panfilo de Narvaez with the aid of the vessels and followers provided by the said Diego Velazquez, Lieutenant of the Admiral, and Governor ; with which they went to conquer and populate the said Nueva España from the Island of Cuba ; and which they conquered and populated at the cost of the said Lieutenant, without their Highnesses having contributed anything towards it ? "

ANTON QUINTERO and DIEGO DE SOTO saw that armada sail from Santiago de Cuba, but knew nothing else.

JUAN DE HERVEZ saw armed and fitted out, in Cuba, the expeditions of Francisco Hernandez de Cordoba, Juan de Grijalba, Hernan Cortes, and Pánfilo de Narvaez ; and knew that Diego Velazquez paid the cost.

PEDRO DE SORIA saw fitted out and sail the expeditions of Cortes and Narvaez ; and heard it said, publicly, that Diego Velazquez had borne the cost.

The twelfth Question :

" If the witnesses knew that the said Nueva España was first discovered by Francisco Hernandez de Cordoba, who sailed from the Island of Cuba, by order of the said

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Diego Velazquez, with fifty followers ; and that in the said expedition the Indians wounded the said Francisco Hernandez de Córdoba and certain others with him ; and that he brought back some ten or twelve Indians from the said land of Yucatan ; and returned to recuperate at the said Island of Cuba ; and from data supplied by the said ten or twelve Indians, and by the information and industry of those who had gone with the said Francisco Hernandez de Córdoba, the said Diego Velazquez armed and fitted out another armada in which he sent Juan de Grijalva with 300 followers, in six or seven vessels, who discovered the land from the said Yucatan as far as the ' rio de Grijalva,' now called the ' Costa Abajo ' ; and that at this river, because of the presence of an excessive number of Indians, no attempt was made to colonise ; and returned to report to the said Diego Velazquez about this country, and of what he had experienced and seen therein ; and that after the said Diego Velazquez had inspected what the said Juan de Grijalva had obtained and brought back, and had understood from the information supplied by the Indians and those who had been there with him, he again fitted out the expedition, and sent Fernando Cortes—now the Marquis del Valle—to conquer and colonise the said Nueva España ? ”

The witnesses declared that they had heard it so said and stated.

The thirteenth Question :

Also : “ If they knew that, because the said Almirante (Colón) had discovered the said Indies, islands and mainland of the Ocean, and added them to our Kingdom and Royal Crown, from that accrued and accrue great profit and advantage to the King and Queen of Spain ; and that because of the great quantity of gold, silver, pearls, sugar, cassia, “ brasil ” (*caesalpina brasiliensis*), and many other riches obtained and brought from the said Indies to this Kingdom, Spain is the richest and most exalted of all the Christian Kingdoms ; and if they knew and believed that it would not so have been if the said Admiral, Don Cristobal Colón—or by means of his industry—had not dis-

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covered the said Indies and mainland ; and that this is all true and notorious.”

The fourteenth Question :

Also : “ If the witnesses knew and believed that all the foregoing, and everything and every part of it, is public voice and famous between the persons who knew of the circumstances and had notice thereof ? and, that there may be put to them all such other questions as may be deemed pertinent and germane to the case ? ”

The witnesses all ratified and confirmed what they had declared.

This proof is not, of course, by any manner of means to be considered as in rebutment of the proofs presented by the Crown and by Juan Martin Pinzón as to who actually was the genuine “ Discoverer ” of the “ New World,” but was made merely in substantiation of the claims of the family of Colón to be entitled to certain specific and very special award, emolument, and privilege, which the Crown and Juan Martin Pinzón maintained that Colón never earned and was not exclusively entitled to.

The allegations of the Licentiate Villalobos, Fiscal of the King, and similarly, too, the spirit which dictated the Interrogatories of his proofs, are contained in the appeal he presented at Madrid on the 28th of January, 1536, qualifying as null and void the sentence pronounced in that city on the 18th of August of the previous year, 1535, for the following reasons :

Being, as they are—the Offices of Viceroy and Governor—of Jurisdiction, which to the Crown only pertains, they cannot possibly be alienated nor separated from it, not even by the form or means of a contract. Even Cristobal Colón himself, in the first capitulation granted by the Crown to him, confessed in the first chapter that the Ocean Seas belong only to their Majesties, and that being so, the said offices could not be alienated, much less in perpetuity (*per perpetuitas*), even though so stipulated or convened, nor for any greater period than for the lives of

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the contracting parties, much the more so, when by the same capitulation, in this case called the " Contract " by the other side, the said offices were not conceded *per perpetuitas* to the heirs-at-law of Colón, but only to him for the term of his natural life ; because only the office of " Admiral " could be conceived to be conceded in perpetuity to the heirs ; and if, afterwards, by the conceded privileges, the grant was to be extended to the heirs as well, then that was gratuitously only, and a mere donation, and not a " contract " ; and the Indies being, as already they then were, appendages of the Crown, no donation could be made with such great self-prejudice, nor be apportioned from it by any means or channel ; and in the case that in the concession of Privileges mention should have been made of heirs-at-law, the extension could not have been made to more or other than the first heir in whom the said privilege might be verified, if it were possible for that to be done, which I deny, because the Offices of Viceroy and Governor, which are of jurisdiction by reason of their nature and performance, cannot be transmissible to heirs-at-law : because, if that were possible, the right of the Royal Jurisdiction would be useless to the Crown ; and for that reason by the laws and decrees of the Kingdom it is prohibited that such dignities of Government could be given or granted *in perpetuum jure hereditario*, and the concession itself is not in any way so conceived, although it may contain certain derogatory and non-objecting clauses, even although conceded by way of remuneration of services, and in virtue or by force of a contract.

Further : because it is repugnant for one person to possess, in one single place or district, more than an individual office, much more so—three, Admiral, Viceroy and Governor—which in one person should not, cannot concur.

Further : because, from the tenor and signification of the First Capitulation and Privileges (1492) the intentions of the contracting parties can be deduced and defined, and that the Offices of Viceroy and Governor were con-

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ceded to Colón only, for the term of his life, and for that reason, in the provision subsequently issued at Barcelona (1493), it was required that the concessions about to be given to Cristobal Colón should be expressed in their own names and on their own part—Don Fernando and Doña Ysabel—and not in the names of the Kings who would come after them, because the Catholic Kings who were those making the concession did not wish or attempt to “ tie up ” their successors in the Royal Crown and its rights.

Further : because the Concession of the said Offices—as claimed—necessarily entailed enormous damage and injury to the Crown, and to the republic of the Islands and part of the mainland, to the residents, inhabitants, and traders of those places, and to this Kingdom and its peoples ; and the Indies will become depopulated (by us), nor will there be anybody who will care or venture to go there to settle or trade there, if those authorities were not appointed by Their Majesties, and removed and renewed when thought to be necessary and convenient to Their Service ; and if it were to be established that such offices should follow and be acquired by heritage—*successio in haereditatem*—and appointed by succession, the Royal pre-eminence and the Crown would remain enormously defrauded of their own, in a major degree, in those parts so remote and separate from these Kingdoms ; and that which would be convenient and advantageous to the public is, that all the offices of jurisdiction or government should be created, provided for, and appointed in all time and always by Their Majesties ; and others reappointed and substituted to each and every of them how and when it should be convenient and seem fit and needful to do so ; for on the other hand and in any other way, the republic of the Indies could not possibly be sustained, and in the end would be destroyed by reason of the diversity of jurisdictions existing so far from their base ; and, therefore, in the way sought, the cession and its perpetuity cannot possibly be adjudicated.

Further : because according to the declarations of the

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other party to this suit, to the claimant (the Colón family) would also pertain the right of the “diezmo”—the *decima regio fisco soluta*—and that cannot for one instant be admitted, because the concession or “capitulation” by which it is pretended to be conceded, was personal only, and with the decease of the entity it suffered extinction, necessarily. Neither were the privileges afterwards conceded extended also to the sons and heirs ; for, in that matter, the contract was as to a company, between Their Majesties and Cristobal Colón, in respect of the materials or goods the latter had to obtain and deliver ; Their Majesties, for their part, finding the ships, crews and means, and the said Cristobal Colón, on his, only his own person and industry. And for that reason was conceded *to him only* the one-tenth of the earnings which those vessels, explorers and stores for barter could and should procure and obtain by his own industry and trading ; and for that reason, too, the faculty was conceded of retaining to himself the “diezmo,” or one-tenth part, in all that referred to his own individual personality and efforts. In that way the affair being but a company, of its nature it lasted and could not possibly last longer than for the term of the lives of those who were actual parties to the contract ; nor did it even pass to the heirs-at-law ; neither in the Capitulation nor in the Privileges is any mention made of them ; and in the event of that being denied, that the rights claimed *did* so pass, or that the contract was *per perpetuitas*, even then it could not be held to extend beyond the first heir or successor of the claimant, much the more so when it was not so expressly stated and covenanted ; and in case this were denied—that afterwards the Catholic King granted certain other “Cedula” or concession by which it might possibly have been so extended—then it would merely be a protestation that, by it, no more nor less was given or taken away than the rights which had been established by the original grant or Capitulation ; and to that effect it was declared by and in the Cedula which was granted from Medina del Campo on the 12th of June, 1497 ; and all that which was after-

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wards granted was nothing but gratuitous privilege, and invalid, being prejudicial to the real interests of the Crown. And although it might be wished to be said and accepted that the "Company" passed to the heirs of its members, which cannot be suffered, to convey and carry to the contrary party only, then they should have brought in and applied the industry, labour and means of their own persons, as required of Cristobal Colón himself to enable him to obtain the concession and benefits, it being clear that the heirs could not claim any greater rights than he himself (Colón) actually possessed.

And because also : that Cristobal Colón did not himself discover the Indies ; and the privileges, wherever they appear to be given by the said grants and concessions, were founded on a falsity, affirmed by Colón, which moved the Catholic Kings to grant the concessions referred to ; for Their Majesties had not been told—were not aware that before the said Cristobal Colón had any information as to the whereabouts of the Indies, or had put into practice his "discovery"—others already knew of them, and treated and sought to make that "discovery" and to that effect did so with their own vessels and crews, relatives and friends, and with the fortune and means they possessed, because they were persons of substantial means and resources, and skilled in the art of the navigation of these coasts—Spain and Portugal—towards the Indies. *They made the "discovery," and not Cristobal Colón*, who neither possessed knowledge of them, means nor credit, nor was well enough known for people to join with or go with him ; nor would he have done anything at all if the persons whom I have referred to had not done so. And although they took Colón with them in that voyage he did not make the discovery ; but on the contrary, navigating the Ocean—lost, confounded and full of doubt and fear—*wished to give up the project and attempted to return to Spain*. But those who provided the zeal and industry and supplied the vessels, means and crews, against the wish of Colón animated and gave courage to their followers to continue the voyage, and they did so

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until they arrived at the Island of “ Española ” and the others—*much before Colón arrived there. Those who actually made the discovery of the Indies were Martin Alonso Pinzón* and those with him—his own family, kinsmen, friends and townsmen—who once discovered the Indies, then made search for Colón, who had remained behind—lost—and found him ; and in that way, therefore, it cannot be pretended or maintained that Cristobal Colón himself made any discovery at all.

And also : because after the discovery of the Islands, in other voyages, other persons, before the said Colón, discovered Darien, Pária and Veragua ; and therefore, it not being possible to allege or sustain that Cristobal Colón discovered them, to him could not possibly or rightly be adjudicated their Governorship and Viceroyalty, nor the one-tenth of all things, as was adjudicated.

PART III

SUMMARY

So far the weighty opinion of the Law Officers of the Crown of Spain, in 1536, concerning the representations and claims made by the heirs of Cristobal Columbus (Colón), as to offices and awards due to them as heirs of the "Discoverer of America."

It is to be regretted that the *Historia de las Indias*, by the famous P. Bartolomé de las Casas, carries us no further than the year 1524, or before the termination of the lawsuits now under reference.

The work of Martin Fernandez de Navarrete, *Colección de Viajes y Descubrimientos*, although carrying us to a later date, does not assist us very much, and, whilst interesting and well reputed, is found to be somewhat incorrect as regards his notes, commentaries and quotations of the proceedings, and, of course, he was unaware of the existence of the records of the incidents and the appeals originated at the instance of Doña Maria de Toledo, in the name of her son Luis Colón, grandson of Cristobal Colón, about 1535, now under consideration in detail; and of those furthered by Luis Colón himself; and therefore public knowledge of all these very important matters is incomplete, the more important of the documents having remained unpublished until now (and in these later records are contained and condensed the whole of the various lawsuits and litigation), but safely stored in the very valuable, though but little known to us, "Archivo de las Indias" of Sevilla.

In them are cleared up many obscure points in the history of the first Admiral and of his companions in the famous enterprise of the "Invención del Nuevo Mundo"; in them, too, appear the declarations of persons whose

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illustrious names are engraved in the glorious pages of the history of Spain ; and by them, too, not only do we obtain a sight of the hitherto wanting first-class testimony of the crews of the expedition of the first voyage and of the first contact with the islands of the Indies, but also valuable detailed narrative of the later expeditions on the Main-land—America. They supply many gaps in the narrative of Las Casas, as well as of those of other contemporary writers.

Such, then, is the very remarkable testimony of some of the crews of the Pinzón or Colón expedition as to what really occurred on land and at sea.

It is somewhat curious to find that these valuable details have so little occupied the attention of the very considerable number of writers on this question of the actual facts of the Discovery of America, in 1492.

Washington Irving does not attempt to reproduce—even in a general way—their tenor and effect.

Equally brief, too, is Winsor, in his valuable *History of America*. In Vol. II, p. 10, in a mere footnote, he contents himself with the following observation : “ Pinzón’s heirs at a later day manifested hostility to Columbus and endeavoured to magnify their father’s importance in the voyage (*See Irving, App. X.*). In the subsequent lawsuit for the confirmation of Columbus’s rights the Pinzóns brought witnesses to prove that it was their urgency which prevented Columbus from giving up the voyage and turning back.”

The evidence of these witnesses remains on record at Sevilla, and was uncontroverted, and abundantly discloses the actual facts of the matter.

For his able and zealous defence of the Crown, and incidentally in his proving the case for Martin Alonso Pinzón, the Fiscal Villalobos was charged by the famous Bishop of Chiapa, the Padre Bartolomé de las Casas, in his *Historia de las Indias* (lib. I, cap. 34 et 65 ; and lib. II, cap. 47), with having proceeded with falsity and ineptitude, and, in addition, with having put very impertinent questions, beyond the limits

VICENTE YAÑEZ PINZON

of reason and justice, so as to obfuscate witnesses and cloud the greatest work—none so universal in effects—ever done by any human being in thousands of years.

The numerous witnesses called by the Colón family during the period of the litigation, extending from about 1500 to 1564, naturally affirmed contrarily—but too confidently—to the very clear and convincing testimony of companions, friends and relatives of the Pinzóns. That was precisely what they were called for—mere evidence in rebutment—but without disturbing the real and actual facts of the case as stated by the partisans of those of Palos.

One of the most remarkable features of this history of the Discovery of the New World is that the Pinzón family made no attempt, apparently—for none seems to be recorded—to establish their obvious rights to high consideration from the Crown until so late as 1532, or some forty years after the event. At any rate Juan Martin Pinzón, the son of the Discoverer, Martin Alonso Pinzón, does not make any reference to any previous proceedings on his or their part. Of course, while his uncle, the famous navigator Vicente Yañez Pinzón, lived (he died in 1525), and continued to make voyages of discovery in the service of the Crown, his nephew may not have had occasion or found it convenient in his uncle's interests, to move in the matter, and there is no record extant of any attempt having been made on his part ; and he, too, is well known to nautical history.

Returning to the plaint and arguments of the Fiscal, due consideration should be given to the foundation of his affirmation (as appears by the eighth question of the Interrogatory of twenty-eight questions) that Martin Alonso Pinzón knew of the existence and whereabouts of these Indies of the West, and had the intention to explore them before Cristobal Colón arrived in Spain and applied to the Court for assistance and authority to make his Voyage of Discovery.

Amongst his private papers the Admiral (Colón) left a passage to the effect that, amongst the reasons that formed

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his conviction of the success of the project he had so tenaciously clung to for so many years—since, of course, the arrival of the unfortunate pilot of Huelva, Alonso Sanchez, at his house in the Madeiras, also greatly weighed with him—was the information communicated to him by Pedro de Velasco, a native of Palos, the discoverer of the Island of Flores in the Madeiras, of having once found himself near to land in the course of his navigation in the west, a statement confirmed by a *marinero tuerto*, or “one-eyed” pilot, of Puerto de Santa Maria, and a pilot of Murcia, that by the violence of a tempest he was blown from the coast of Ireland, and had ultimately reached a land where they took in firewood and water.

Fernando Colón and the Padre de las Casas reproduce these indications and rumours, adding that one Martin Vicente, a pilot of the King of Portugal ; Pedro Correa, a “step-brother-in-law” of Cristobal Colón ; Antonio de Leme, who married at the Island of Madeira ; Vicente Diaz, a native of Tavira, south coast of Portugal ; and some others, strengthened those indications and affirmations, by alleging that they had seen sometimes Indian cane floating at sea, sometimes also curiously carved timbers, new trunks of trees of unknown varieties, “balsas” (rafts or floats), and floating bodies of men of a race distinct from the European ; and had even seen the distant land supposed to exist to the west.

Further, Gonzalo Fernandez de Oviedo y Valdez also procured from mariners similar traditions (he was at Santo Domingo in 1514) applied to those same people, or from others whom successive authors also similarly heard, attributing the accidental voyage to the west of Alonso Sanchez of Huelva (as was also done by the historian the Inca Garci Laso de la Vega), to the Basque pilot Andalouza, and to a Portuguese who died at the island of Madeira in the house of Colón, confiding to him before dying the secret of his having seen the New World !

Cronau in his very interesting *America : Historia de su*

CRONAU ON SANCHEZ

Descubrimiento (Vol. I, p. 220) observes that " various contemporaries of Colón, amongst them Oviedo, who lived at the Court of Spain, besides Spotorar, Gomera, Aldrete, and others, refer to the incident that a pilot named Alonso Sanchez, born at Niebla, in the Province of Huelva, who maintained commercial and business relations between Spain and the Canary Islands, on making, in the year 1484, a voyage to Madeira, found his small vessel driven by contrary winds (easterly) to an unknown island in the far west. On his return to the Madeiras he arrived completely exhausted and was received and taken care of by Colón in his own house ; but in spite of all the attention and care bestowed upon him, he died there, as well as four others of his crew, but not without having first made to the Genovese (Colón) very important revelations relative to the unknown Western country. Whether these statements and accounts are based on fact—the truth—or are but simple idle rumours, the fruits of imagination, it will ever be difficult to determine."

Those repeated references to the Huelva pilot, Alonso Sanchez, do not seem to be so very " nebulous " as alleged by a recent writer—Vignaud.

Cronau (p. 218, *op. cit.*) further adds : " Some time later Colón returned to Portugal, where he married Felipa Muñoz de Perestrello, and later went with her to the island of Porto Santo (one of the Madeiras), to take possession of some property that had been bequeathed to her by her father in that Island.

" Bartolomé Muñoz de Perestrello—also of Italian origin—had distinguished himself in the reign and Kingdom of Prince Henry of Portugal, the Navigator, undertaking several expeditions of exploration, and later establishing a Portuguese colony at the Island of Porto Santo, the Madeiras. Amongst his papers there naturally would have been much detailed information obtained locally, and probably many geographical and marine charts, relative to the Western Ocean, which all passed into the hands of his son-in-law, Cristobal Colón."

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These data, coupled with what he had obtained from Alonso Sanchez of Huelva, given to him in gratitude, formed the basis of his petition for help—made with such tardy success—to the Crown of Spain, after having been laughed at by that of Portugal.

On the opposite page is a view of the house inhabited by Colón in the island of Porto Santo, from a drawing by Sr. Miguel, in 1910.

Similar notices and traditions are made mention of by Garibay, in his *Cronica General* ; and by Henao, *Antigüedades de Cantabria* ; and by Acosta in his *De Natura novi Orbis*, chroniclers of the sixteenth century.

Stories of this nature were propagated, preserved and current amongst the seafaring class from the Strait of Gibraltar to Cape St. Vincent and in the Canaries, Madeiras and Azores ; and long before the Genovese (Colón) trod upon Spanish soil in his quest were bound to be known to Martin Alonso Pinzón and other mariners of the high seas of the region, as much because he himself belonged to the seafaring class and because of personal circumstances and direct contact and communication with the captains and Spanish and Portuguese seamen who traded with the western groups of Islands out in the Atlantic, as for his having his home and residence at the port of Palos—the *Palus Etrephaca*, so adjacent to the Portuguese frontier, a few hours' sail only ; and, too, to the focus of the expeditions of discovery created (at Chagres, Cape St. Vincent) by the famous Infante of Portugal Dom Enrique Henry the Navigator (1394–1460).

In Huelva, practically Palos (an hour's sail only) resided the half brother-in-law of Colón himself, Pedro Correa (who, according to the testimony of Garcia Hernandez the apothecary or doctor of the "Pinta," was also named Muliar) ; and, the "nebulous pilot," Alonso Sanchez, the reputed first actual discoverer of the Western Indies. Of this same port of Palos was Pedro de Velasco, the discoverer of the Isle of Flores, cited by the Admiral Colón, who had found that the Phœnicians had been there

COLON'S HOUSE AT PORTO SANTO



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before him ; and there, too, close to that of Pinzón, had his house and home, Pedro Vazquez de la Frontera, a person of whom no mention has been made until now and who, according to the declarations of Alonso Velez Allid, Mayor of Palos, and of his neighbours, Fernand Valiente and Alonso Gallego, who knew and treated with him, proved to have been employed by the King of Portugal as an expert seaman, and had been of the crew of one of the " carabelas " which had attempted the navigation of the mysterious Occident, reaching the Sargazo Sea, which so terrified navigators—and of the traversing of which without any real danger or much trouble, he duly and naturally informed his neighbours, fellow-mariners and companions of earlier voyages.

The same competent witnesses also affirmed that they had heard this matter discussed with Martin Alonso Pinzón during the expedition, and heard also expressed the firm conviction that, further to the west, they must meet with land, this taking place about the time of their departure from Palos. So much so, that of the three mentioned witnesses, two of them deposed that Cristoba Colón was actually present at a conversation verified in the house of Pedro Velez, in Palos ; and, therefore, laying on one side for the moment any further dealing with this data, let us reconsider previous data, and search out and investigate who really was this personage, whom the Fiscal of His Majesty sought to place in front of and to prefer to the Genovese navigator, claiming for him with great force and emphasis—as well as reason—as being the better entitled to it—the achievement of being the real Discoverer, and the right to the grandiose title of " Admiral of the Indies ! "

Some forty witnesses—in conformity with that they do not appear giving testimony on any other questions of the Interrogatory—affirmed that they had known and esteemed him to be, a prominent personage in the town of Palos.

Martin Alonso Pinzón, they all declared, was a person of substantial means and resources—*que tenia bien de*

PINZON'S VISIT TO ROME

omer ; thoroughly well versed in seafaring matters, and skilful in the art of navigation ; a valiant captain, and an expert pilot ; who owned, on occasions, two or three vessels dedicated to trade and commerce, and ordinarily maintained one under his own personal command, cruising and crossing the seas of Spain and Portugal, undertaking long voyages—now to the Canaries and Madeiras, now as far as Italian ports in the Mediterranean, as far as the Gulf of Naples.

Undoubtedly he must have been a very competent and skilful mariner of the high seas, admirably equipped for any greater voyage of discovery.

On all and every occasion he gave a “ good account of himself, because there was no other person they knew of so determined and daring a character, at that time, nor more valiant in person, nor more capable in whatever action in war ”—great personal conditions which naturally obtained and won for him credit and ascendancy over all other seafaring persons ; and he also had many relatives, kinsmen and friends amongst the most honoured of Palos.

Taking advantage of this material knowledge and valuable large experience on the high seas, he made use of one of his voyages to Italy, on business, to go to Rome, there to examine the many geographical records and charts of the Pontifical Library, making due use of his familiarity with a cosmographer of the household of the Pope, then Innocent VIII, to whom he owed the opportunity of obtaining copies and notes of various records and charts.

In the lawsuit of the Admiral Colón against the Crown, the Fiscal of His Majesty gave to these notes and documents—which he called “ escrituras ”—an importance as to the Discovery which they were far from possessing ; Fernandez Navarrete going so far as to estimate as fraudulent the declarations of the witnesses, who, like Arias Perez Pinzón, a son of Martin Alonso Pinzón, and Juan de Ungria, stated that they had seen them obtained at Rome, and had heard them read ; and presumed also that

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such documents were but an invention or artifice of the Padre Friar Juan Perez and of Colón to procure greater confidence in the enterprise amongst the people of Palos and Moguer allied to the Pinzóns.

However little the attention is fixed upon this declaration it will be noted that there appears to be little or no reason for condemning their veracity and correctness : the copies of the documents referred to are of a text of the Bible and of the *Mapa mundi* which existed in the Library of the Pope. Far from supposing that they alone provided Martin Alonso Pinzón with an extraordinary treasure of information, they did not furnish any data or information that was not vulgar and current amongst the ordinarily instructed seafaring people of Italy, aware of the writings of the geographer Solinus, who had located the "Hesperides" to the west of the Fortunate or Canary Islands, a thirty days voyage according to the testimony of the English witness Sebastian Cabot ; of the works of Ptolemy, Strabo, Aristotle and Pliny ; of the traditions as to the " Antillas," " Siete Ciudades," and " San Borondon," all so widely disseminated throughout the Southern Coasts of Spain and Portugal, if not throughout the entire Iberian littoral ; and of the voyages to " Asia " then so much commented upon.

Nothing of all that matter could have been unknown to the Librarian of the Pope, Innocent VII.; nothing surprising, therefore, but that about such matters he had several conversations with the Spanish captain and able master-mariner, and even then the notes and copies of documents and plans with the which he had augmented the library of his cabin would have been and were insufficient and inconsequent to afford him any clearer view and vision of the exact whereabouts of the Indies ; and to ensure, consequently, to the Fiscal for the Crown any force of argument of the value he claimed for them.

It is, however, certain that even with the information Pinzón had procured in Italy, united to the rumours and reports of seafaring people already mentioned, and to

COLON'S JOURNEY TO PALOS

that vague intuition which floated, as it were, in the atmosphere of the seaports of Italy, Spain and Portugal, it did not occur to him to undertake an expedition alone into the Unknown West, much less without the express authority of the Crown, although the contrary was asserted by his son Arias Perez Pinzón and some others ; the declarations of Fernan Perez Mateos, his cousin, and a person of unexceptionable qualifications, of Gil Romero and of others, possess some value, expressing that they had never seen or heard that Martin Alonso Pinzón had desired and had intended to make the Voyage of Discovery before the arrival of Cristobal Colón at Palos, although, of course, that does not alter the fact that he may have intended to do so, as affirmed by those of his own household. And this negative testimony must therefore be received with due caution.

The certain fact is that those rather obscure notices and informations—although, perhaps, insufficient of themselves to cause Martin Alonso Pinzón to act—no doubt greatly predisposed his spirit, and assisted his personal characteristics of keen intrepidity and valour, to induce him to embark without vacillation, from the moment the opportunity presented itself, in a noble enterprise, which any other class of person would have esteemed to be bound to be attended with failure, and would refuse to embark his person, means and household in it.

Allusion has already been made to the nebulosities which surround the earlier life of Cristobal Colón, one of them being the impulse or motive which conducted him to the Monastery of Santa Maria de la Rábida, at Palos, in such a remote corner of the Peninsula, journeying thither on foot with his son Diego, then a lad of tender years.

Cronau (*ob. cit.* p. 227) thus refers to this event : "*Tan pobe como habia llegado abandonó Colón la Corte Española; cogiendo de la mano á su hijo Diego, marchó con él á lo largo del Valle de Rio Tinto, á pie, para llegar al Puerto de Huelva. Asi llegó al Convento de Franciscanos de la Rábida, en cuyos umbrales, segun cuenta la tradición, cayó rendido de fatigas y de hambre.*"

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In that same "Valle de Rio Tinto," the writer has lived for upwards of thirty-five years.

Some writers have supposed that, disillusioned of his hopes of being favourably received by the King of Portugal, he turned for assistance to the Court of Castilla, at that time at Córdoba, there to assert his propositions, choosing the route via Badajoz and Niebla, via Rio Tinto, in order to leave with his brother-in-law (*con cuñado*), Pedro de Correa, who, as has been noticed, then lived at Huelva, the lad Diégo, who greatly embarrassed the activity of his proceedings. Others wish to establish that the visit to Pedro de Correa or Muliar, as he was also called, and his intention personally to visit the mariners of this region—Palos, Huelva—so practical, well-informed, and capable in their occupation, with the object of increasing his stock of information as to the lands in the Far West, was the exclusive motive for his wearisome journey of over 300 kilometres ; whilst others, better instructed, were of the opinion that for some seven or eight years he had been unsuccessfully searching in Spain for the person who could and would take up his project of an Expedition of Discovery ; and, being disillusioned of success in this country as well as in Portugal, had determined to go elsewhere (in Europe) to make his offer of an Unknown World, to anybody—which nobody seemed to care for in spite of the testimony and facts he adduced in proof of the merits of his case !

Fernando Colón, his son, is amongst the number of those first alluded to in the last paragraph ; the Father Bartolomé de las Casas, who generally follows him, circumstantially notes the version of the journey from the Court of Portugal to that of Spain, but also asserts the contrary, or rather that both were told to him in his day, and leaving the reader to make choice, no doubt so as to avoid the necessity of making note or comment upon the contradictions incurred by Don Fernando Colón.

This point is, however, cleared up by and in the declarations of the witnesses in the very prolonged lawsuits brought by Cristobal Colón and his heirs against the

THE SOURCE OF COLON'S CERTAINTY

Crown of Spain, singularly so, by Garcia Hernandez, the "fisico," "dispensero," or "doctor," who sailed in the expedition on board the "carabela" *Pinta*, captained by Martin Alonso Pinzón, as was observed by Fernandez Navarrete in his *Colección de Viajes y Descubrimientos* (Vol. III, pp. 596 and 604).

Colón went to Huelva "*with the object of talking to his brother-in-law, and came, or had come, from the Court of their Majesties, where he had predicated that he should be given the 'tierra-firme'; and where many of the courtiers and others had laughed and made fun of his project and of his pretensions . . . and that he then came away from the Court despairing of success.*"

The argument contained in the third Interrogatory of the Proof of Juan Martin Pinzón employed to explain this journey as having had for its object the desire of Cristobal Colón to obtain further and fuller information and instruction from Martin Alonso Pinzón and others at Palos was, therefore, but natural and of much force.

Cristobal Colón for many years, at any rate since 1484, must have known of the constant communication between Palos-Huelva, the Canaries, the Madeiras and the Azores—full one-half of the mid-Atlantic—and also that, apart from his brother-in-law there were sure to be many other mariners of those places of better material conditions and circumstances, well able to assist him substantially in his project : in fact *that was his whole case—he had been given certain positive information*, confirming ancient history, by a skilful pilot, Alonso Sanchez, well competent to know ; and felt certain of assistance from others of his class at Palos and Huelva. And it is not at all unlikely that Colón had been in communication with his brother-at-law about the matter, and that this latter had told him that if there was anybody in Spain able and conditioned to help him very materially and successfully, then that person was the wealthy proprietor, shipowner and skilful navigator of the High Seas, Martin Alonso Pinzón !

The proceedings confirm the sympathetic and friendly

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reception extended to him by the monks of "La Rábida," a stranger and very poor ; although that same authority does not enable us to clear up the doubt existing as to the real name of the "Guardian" of the Monastery ; and whether or no the names of Antonio Marchena and Juan Perez pertain to one and the same person, whose actual name may have been Friar Juan Antonio Perez de Marchena, as Fernández Navarrete was inclined to admit (*op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 603).

The "fisico," or doctor, García Hernandez, declared that the host of Cristobal Colón was Friar Juan Perez, and was or had been a confessor to the Queen Isabel ; Arias Perez Pinzón refers to a Friar who was called "Friar Juan Perez." Neither one nor the other of them—they were residents at Palos—affirms that he was the "Guardian" of the monastery, as stated by Fernando Colón, and after him other writers ; and, on the contrary, another declarant, Alonso Velez Allid, Mayor of Palos, has it : "that Colón communicated or was in treaty with 'un Fraile-Astrólogo, Guardian,' and with one Friar Juan, who had served when a young man, Queen Isabel the Catholic, in the Accounts Department," who went to the Vega de Granada (Santa Fé), and demonstrated the case of Colón to Their Majesties. Juan Rodriguez Cabezudo, who provided the mule to convey the monk to the Court, from Palos de Santa Fé, Granada, and who was entrusted with the care of the child, Diego, in the absence of his father—which indicates a certain amount of friendly acquaintanceship with the future Admiral, designates the monk simply as "a Friar of the Order of San Francisco" ; whilst Andres del Corral, who was at the Court with the Admiral, at Madrid, declared that when the Court manifested its disbelief in the tale of Colón, he replied that he would present a person in whom they would confide ; and that there then came forward a "Fraile of the Order of San Francisco," whose name he did "not know, who told Their Majesties, that what Colón had affirmed was quite true ; and that he was thereupon attended to."

Cristobal Colón, in his petitions and letters addressed

THE CROWN'S ORDERS TO PALOS

to Their Majesties, always mentioned his benefactor at the Monastery as "Friar Antonio de Marchena," the name similarly employed by Their Majesties in their communications, and also alluded to his being a good astrologer, and also as having been always in conformity with Colón's way of thinking; therefore, subsisting the confusion about the identity of the individual which was not cleared up by the Padre de las Casas, Herrera, or Gómara, the good criterion of Fernandez Navarrete is admissible.

At length, the "Capitulaciones" being signed at Santa Fé, the poverty-stricken guest of the Monastery of La Rábida returned to Palos, invested with the dignity of "Captain-General of the Armada," and with the authority of the Crown to form and to make the Expedition of Discovery, after a prolonged struggle of some eight years! Included in that authority was an order to the town of Palos to furnish the "Armada." The local authorities answered the requisition by affirming that they were ready to obey the Royal mandate at once; consequently, as soon as Cristobal Colón indicated the particular vessels then at Palos he thought suitable to his purpose, their seizure was ordered and verified. See the declarations of the "Escribano," Alonso Pardo, and of Diego Fernandez Colmenero. (Fernandez Navarrete, *op. cit.*, Vol. III., p. 578.)

Nevertheless, in spite of that effort, Colón soon found himself forced to recognise how really very slight had been his material advancement in progress after such a long period of prolonged and painful delay and never-ending procedure: the realisation of his scheme seemed as difficult if not as far off as ever!

The Crown despatches he held indicated "*that the masters and crews of the 'naos' should be officially constrained to go with the Captain Designate, they being paid the salaries and wages which reasonably and fairly should be due to them for the period of the service they should be engaged in and perform,*" an order of prompt and easy accomplishment when treating of an ordinary circumstance of navigation, but not in this particular case, for

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although the Crown Orders concealed the actual destination of the vessels, expressing concisely but only that they were to go “ *to certain parts of the Ocean on very important matters in the service of God and of Their Majesties,*” rumours of the true object of the armada had issued from the Monastery of “ La Rábida ” itself, the precaution which was taken to gather together stores of all kinds for a year’s voyage further confirming them. Vainly, on their part, the “ Alcaldes ” (Mayors) endeavoured to procure, and on his part, too, did the Accountant or Purser, the Palace representative of Their Majesties, Juan de Peñalosa, stimulate and urge, offer high reward on their return, and sought almost to compel the pilots and mariners of Palos and Moguer to go on board the vessels, then at anchor and abandoned by them since the act of their seizure by the orders of Colón.

The records do not name these vessels or mention who their owners were, but it is very probable that they did not belong to Martin Alonso Pinzón and his powerful family.

The sending, by the Crown, of the “ Corregidor especial ” (a special magistrate), Juan de Cepéda ; the threat of the assistance of the fortress of Palos to use its artillery, and carry the imposition to the extreme ; the letters and special messages from the Court proving and demonstrating the great interest and desire of the Crown in the successful fitting out of this Armada, did not yield any better result—the mariners appealing to every possible form of “ passive resistance,” including that of absence from the locality, because it was not at all a light matter to them cheerfully to go in search “ *of a land neither heard of nor known,*” guided by whom ?—by an unknown stranger or at least by one whom they had seen arrive but a short while back, poor and in a distressful condition, at the porch of the Monastery of La Rabida, begging for “ *bread and water for the little child accompanying him ;*” and receiving lodging, charitable assistance and care from the good friars of that same monastery ; by a stranger or foreigner who had been, and was, the laughing-stock of

PRISONERS AS CREWS

all, holding him, when his tale had duly been told, to be a fool and a visionary ; and whom, too, they held to be but a dead man, from the moment that, the ships being seized, he should attempt to put to sea in the execution of the belated project ! Such was the sworn testimony of the scrivener Alonso Pardo, taken at Moguer in 1512, and again at Santo Domingo in 1515, on the part of the Fiscal of the Admiral himself.

Colón found that he had to desist from employing violent official measures to effect his object ; and decided to have recourse to almost the final and only means left to him, forced upon him by his keen desire not to see failure once again awaiting him in the project he now believed to be certain of attainment, turned to make use of the prisons of the town, sounded the feelings of the criminals (*see the declarations of Diego Fernandez Colmenero, and Feran Perez Camacho*) ; and obtained a Royal Order directing the suspension of criminal proceedings against any, under arrest, who might elect to go with Colón (Order given at Granada on the 30th April, 1492), because “ *to do certain things in favour of Our interests, and to obtain the necessary crews for the three vessels, I declare that it is necessary to give some assurance or safeguard to those who might elect to go with him (Colón), for in any other way they would refuse to go on the said projected voyage ; and, on his part, it being supplicated that We should make such order, We, finding it convenient,*” etc., etc. Therefore, forced by necessity he sought to adventure his expedition in vessels forcibly obtained and crewed with criminals !—elements far better calculated to jeopardise or destroy than to enable him to crown his enterprise with success !

Fortunately the necessity did not arrive for him to have to proceed to such an extreme : for by the indication and influence of the Friar Juan Perez, it is believed, and because the personal credit and means of the Pinzóns was the sure resort with which to move favourably the feelings of the local mariners, the Captain of the Catholic Kings turned and went to Martin Alonso Pinzón, offering him, no doubt, participation in the great advantages which

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would accrue from a successful result of this Expedition of Discovery ; and Pinzón accepting them, in a moment, as it were, all the difficulties in forming the armada vanished. Pinzón himself undertook the fitting-out and armament of the necessary vessels—his own ; releasing those which had been forcibly distrained, preparing two of his own, and hiring a third, with such tact that they were declared by Cristobal Colón to be very suitable to the occasion (“ *muy aptos para semejante fecho.*” (*Diary of Colón.* Fernandez Navarrete, *ob. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 2) ; provided the necessary stores of food and armament, found the crews, and gave them money in order that they could leave behind the means of subsistence for the respective families of the crews during their absence ; animated the timorous and hesitating, saying robustly, “ *Friends, come here ; come with this expedition with us ; for here you are not at all well off ; come with this venture, for according to fame and report we shall be able to cover our homes with tiles of gold, and all of us will return fortunate and rich.*” (Declaration of Fernan Iañez de Montilla, Proof of the Fiscal of the King, Villalobos, taken at Sevilla, on the 22nd December, 1535. Roll 2, packet 9.)

And as the people, the mariners of Palos and Moguer—those two towns are very adjacent to each other—saw that he, Pinzón, was himself embarking together with his brothers and relatives, they followed his example, because of the great esteem and respect held for him, and because of the great confidence they all had in him as a skilful master-mariner, thus completing the personal outfit of the armada in the manner recommended by their Majesties : “ *that it should be done with the best ships of Andalucia, and with known, capable and trusty crews* ”—mariners engaged in the navigation of the coasts of Africa, Flanders and Ireland,* which stimulated the activity of the National Commerce of Spain ; and who were estimated by Cristobal Colón himself to be *buenos y cursados*

* An Irishman named Guillermo Ires (? Eyres), of Galnay (Galway), and Tallarte de Larges, of England, were among the crew of the *Santa Maria* !

COLON'S DETERMINATION

hombres de mar (good and skilful mariners of the high seas) (Las Casas, *Historia de las Indias*, Vol. I., cap. 34.)

Nothing of these very important matters was noted by Fernando Colón in his *History of Cristobal Colón*; probably he considered that to do so would be to belittle the fame of his father; the Father Bartolomé de las Casas and successive authors, without being guilty of such partiality, were none too diligent or correct in their examinations of the facts of the case. It even escaped Fernandez Navarrete, usually so careful and scrupulous, to make any consideration of the proposal of Cristobal Colón at first to man the vessels with crews of criminals obtained from the gaols, although he inserted the cited Royal Order about this particular matter.

There is, however, a demonstration of the character and decision of the man in this act, showing to what extent Cristobal Colón was prepared to go to carry out his purpose to discover the New World; yet it may have been simply the natural outcome of his jealousy of Pinzón. He was prepared to go to any extreme rather than seek his powerful assistance and so confess failure or incompetency on his own part. But, after all, failing Pinzón it was his only resource, and in those days a commonplace one.

Nor perhaps does Colón's merit diminish by his demand for help and promise of participation, employed with a person of the category and capacity of Martin Alonso Pinzón (that probably was what really took him to Palos, and probably, too, at the suggestion of his own brother-in-law, who then lived there), in view of the fact that without his assistance the possibility even of making the expedition at all was most seriously compromised at least, if not rendered wholly impossible; but Fernando Colón was certainly not of that way of thinking; he rather wished to present, and presented, the Admiral as being the only brilliant star in the firmament, without reflecting that the sun shines none the less brightly and splendidly although surrounded by other and perhaps more brilliant spheres.

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Rather than publish the simple fact that the fitting-out of the armada was due to Martin Alonso Pinzón, and not to his father, Cristobal Colón ; that without his aid the expedition never would have been realised from Palos, Fernando Colón prepared to be unfair and unjust, and made strikingly plain and manifest the passion and jealousy which dominated him, by what he said and what he omitted to say, of the Mariner of Palos.

Bernaldez, the Priest of the Palaces, did not act in that way, even although he was a strong partisan and friend of Cristobal Colón ; and the famous Bishop of Chiapa even did not exactly imitate Fernando Colón absolutely ; and it will perhaps be convenient and instructive to observe how he separates himself from the text of Fernando Colón.

“ Cristobal Colón commenced,” he writes, “ at Palos, to treat about his projected business and its realisation ; and amongst the residents of that town were three brothers who were named Pinzón, wealthy mariners and principal persons in that place. One of them was named Martin Alonso Pinzón, the head of that family, the richest and most honoured, and him all the people of Palos followed with great esteem and consideration. . . . With the principal brother, then, Martin Alonso Pinzón, Cristobal Colón commenced his negotiations, requesting him to join the expedition and go with it, together with his brothers, relatives and friends ; and without doubt it is quite believable that Colón should then have promised the Pinzóns something in return and compensation, because nobody moves in business matters without covering his interests and responsibilities ; because it is believable, although not quite to such an extent as some affirm, that this same Martin Alonso Pinzón, principally, and with his brothers, very greatly helped and assisted Cristobal Colón in fitting out the armada, because they were wealthy shipowners willing and able to do so—principally Martin Alonso Pinzón, who was the more energetic, and was in seafaring matters a practical and skilful mariner of the high seas of great experience. And,

PINZON'S LOANS TO COLON

because Colón desired to contribute the one-eighth part of the cost of the armada, because he only had at his disposal the *cuento de maravedis* (one million) given to him by Luis de Santangel on the part of the Crown, he could do little or nothing towards its outfit, it is difficult to refuse to believe that Martin Alonso Pinzón, or he and his brothers, advanced or provided only funds to the extent of a *medio cuento de maravedis* (half a million)."

Thus far the famous Bishop (*op. cit.*, Vol. I., cap. 34).

Colón, however, never made any mention of this loan made by Pinzón, nor recognised any such assistance. In the last hours of his life, when dictating the terms of his will, which was done at Valladolid on the 19th of May, 1506, he said : " The King and Queen, our sovereigns, when I served them by giving them the Indies . . . they did not spend, or wanted to do so for that purpose, any more than *un cuento de maravedis*, and I was obliged to *spend (to find) the rest.*"

Now, *being absolutely penniless*, Pinzón had even lent him the money to cover the expenses of his journey to the Court. *From whence and from whom did he obtain the balance ?*

Undoubtedly he did so from Martin Alonso Pinzón.

So close to certainty and the truth was the fact of this aid and loan by Pinzón that it was fully proved during the lawsuits as shown by the records now under illustration ; nor is this amongst the most indifferent in importance of the services rendered to history by those files of the Archive of the Indies, for so many centuries hidden away and whose contents were entirely unknown. Besides the unanimity in the declarations of the witnesses respecting this matter, it is also clearly and abundantly expressed and affirmed by all of them, that it was a matter of public discussion, notorious and known to all the inhabitants of Palos, it being the commonly expressed belief there that without the intervention, participation, determination, and activity of Martin Alonso Pinzón neither would the armada have been fitted out and the expedition have sailed from Palos, nor would the Indies have been

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discovered by the “reputed Genovese,” Cristobal Colón.

The term “reputed Genovese” has previously been employed in this work, as no doubt the reader will have observed.

Now, in many Spanish works Colón is referred to as the “reputed Genovese”; that is to say, some doubts existed as to his true name, origin and country.

According to the *Encyclopædia Britannica* (Vol. VI., p. 171, 9th Ed., 1877) this somewhat mysterious entity is styled Christopher Columbus, whilst in the lawsuits referred to and now under notice, he is styled “Cristobal Colón,” and his sons and successors also bore the same name of Colón; and thus appears his “accredited signature”!

Further, that same quoted work has it that “he was the eldest son of Dominico Colombo and Suzanna Fontanarrosa, and was born in Genoa in 1435 or 1436, the exact date being unknown.”

Presently it adds that “he married, in Portugal, Felipa ‘Munnis’ Perestrello,” but as has been noticed Cronau asserts that her name was “Felipa Muñoz de Perestrello.” The name of “Munnis” is unknown in Portugal or Spain even!

Apparently he and his progeny abandoned the name of Columbus for that of Colón, or more probably that was his true name. The Spanish form of the name of “Columbus” is “Colombo,” not “Colón.”

It is to be noted also that two very distinguished Academicians of the Real Academia de la Historia, of Madrid,—one, its sometime Director, Don Mareclino Menendez y Pelayo, and the ex-Captain of the Navy, Don Cesareo Fernandez y Duro—very strongly support the view, after due consideration of the facts of the case ascertained by the latter from hitherto unedited papers of the “Archivo de las Indias” of Sevilla, and now under more especial consideration, that, without doubt, Cristobal Colón was impelled by and acted on the information and data supplied to him when at Porto Santo, by the Pilot of

FAINT-HEARTED MARINERS

Huelva, Alonso Sanchez ; and further that it was almost entirely due to the substantial aid and nautical skill and great experience on the high seas of Martin Alonso Pinzón and his brothers, relatives and fellow-townsmen, that Colón ever managed to achieve his project, and that his having done so under those conditions did not entitle him to be styled the Discoverer of the New World !

The witnesses Pedro Arias, Juan Rodriguez Mafra, Anton Fernandez Colmenero and Pero Ortiz, skilful pilots and mariners, declared that Martin Alonso Pinzón requested them to go with him on the Voyage of Discovery, and that they refused to do so, knowing that the King of Portugal had sent an expedition on more than one occasion to seek for this mysterious " Land in the West," but without success ; and for this reason they were of opinion "*that it was a vain and uncertain enterprise of much hardship and danger.*" If that was their answer to Pinzón, imagine to yourself what it would have been in all probability to an unknown stranger or foreigner who possessed neither credit nor money, nor even sufficient means to be able to "*mover á la gente del crimen*"—to move the criminal class of the district to join him ! (See the declaration of Diego Fernandez Colmenero, of the 1st October, 1515, taken at Palos : Roll 2, packets 5 and 23.)

The true and full scope and extent of the terms of the offer naturally, in his poor circumstances, made by the future Admiral of the Indies, and the detailed terms and conditions of the contract made by him with Martin Alonso Pinzón are not actually recorded and can only be guessed at in part from the proceedings.

According to the witnesses of the day—neighbours and relatives of Pinzón—something certain, however, can be deduced. Francisco Medel (Proof of the Fiscal, Villalobos, of 22nd December, 1535, *op. cit.*, Vol. X., p. 254), declared "*that Martin Alonso Pinzón had himself informed the witness that Colón, at the time of the fitting out of the armada, had agreed and undertaken to give him (Pinzón) all that he might wish and ask for.*" Alonso Gallego, at the same time, declared "*that he heard Colón say to Martin*

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Alonzo Pinzón : ‘ *I promise you, by the Royal Crown, to divide all with you as though with a brother* ’ ” (*op. cit.*, Vol. X., p. 255) ; Diego Fernandez Colmenero affirmed “ *that Colón promised Pinzón the half of all the honours and profits,* ” or precisely that which the sons of Martin Alonso Pinzón—Juan Martin Pinzón and Arias Perez Pinzón—sustained in their claim and suit, believing and estimating also with the Fiscal Villalobos that into that “ one-half ” entered also the emoluments of the offices and pre-eminences of Admiral, Viceroy and Governor.

To the Padre de las Casas it appeared, admitting the certainty of the contract, so open, so natural a deal that the Council of the Indies had approved of it. Herrera and Muñoz discussed this point from diverse points of view ; and Fernandez Navarrete inferred that the “ one-half ” referred to the benefits resulting from the “ one-eighth ” which Colón had the right to invest personally in the armada ; but that, again, would appear to be but a very insignificant recompense for such great services and advantages likely to result from the enterprise. Again, Colón borrowed that one-eighth from Pinzón, if not from the Crown ! He was penniless.

What was it that actually was put into this venture and risked by each of the contracting parties—Colón and Pinzón ?

Cristobal Colón, as his share and account, put forward the “ pact ” he had made with the Crown as to his award in the future discovery and one million “ maravedis ” (= £300, in those days !), in exchange for the recompenses established in the “ Capitulación ” made at the “ Vega de Granada,” or Santa Fé ; and, meanwhile, holding and using the direction and superior command of the armada with the title of Captain-General of it—and nothing more.

Pinzón, on the other hand, quite voluntarily, without the knowledge, intervention, or authority of the Crown, subscribed his personal influence and authority ; his own person, together with his brothers and relatives ; his own ships and their complete crews and outfit—in a single

POSSIBILITIES OF FAILURE

word, the armada—the reality, the mainspring of the expedition, with the perfect knowledge that the other party was absolutely naked of the simplest elements of utility and success, and did not really know any more about the matter of the Unknown World than he himself did—introducing, besides, the half-million “maravedis,” or the one-third part of the total preliminary out-of-pocket expenses, into the enterprise in the name and under the leadership of Colón, who was to receive the interest accruing to it from the Crown !

Pinzón *must* have had tremendous faith in *his own* information and in the success of the expedition to venture so much !

If the enterprise *failed*, Colón merely lost, saw dissipate, certain hopes and illusions of his life, which constituted the real capital of his treasury. Once again would he simply find himself nothing but a penniless follower at Court, or elsewhere !

Pinzón, on his part, would then sacrifice his half-million “maravedis” without retaining any hope that a poor stranger or foreigner—in such event completely and hopelessly bankrupt and ruined—would ever be able to find the means of making any satisfaction or repayment at all : risked his own vessels, which, together with a half-million “maravedis,” formed a considerable part of his private fortune and independence ; his social standing and consequence—employing, therefore, in an adventure, everything he most valued in the world ! Is it possible that for such tremendous risk and valuable concession in money and in material, he should be content with merely—as reward and compensation—the one-half of the *interest* on the capital he brought in entire ?—that is to say, with one-sixteenth of the gains of this Voyage of Discovery of an Unknown World ? No ; it is not probable, nor was it even at all possible, that it could have been so.

The human mind, throughout history, has been ensouled, and so will continue in spite of the teachings of the law, the parson, and the schoolmaster, by one outstanding impulse ; and that that of Martin Alonso Pinzón

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should have been superior to the general pre-occupation, be deaf to the counsels at least of prudence ! and that without hesitation or reserve he should unite himself, his family and his fortune to the fate of a foreign adventurer is incredible. It would be necessary that he be impelled by some very powerful cause which could not be merely a vulgar ambition, aroused by the magnificent offers of reward made to Colón by the Crown.

Pinzón, in that case, undoubtedly aspired to be invested with one of those three high offices of Admiral, Viceroy or Governor—far too much for one person to hold and administer—if the enterprise succeeded: felt intoxicated with the mere idea of having deserved such considerable honour and “ status ” as his share : admitted to himself the possibility of acquiring it : the certainty of finding the *terra incognita*: understood Colón, and was worthy, with him, to reach the sphere of heroes—as simply is given to us to understand in the declaration of Diego Fernandez Colmenero : “ *porque era hombre de gran corazón que trabajaba de hacer lo que otro no podiese, porque de ello hobiese memoria* ” (*op. cit.*, Fernandez Navarrete, Vol. III., c. 34).

Pinzón was not a simple fisherman unable to take care of himself and his interests, else how did he attain his position and his reputation ?

The actual contract made between him and the impetuous pseudo-Genovese has yet to be found, if ever it were committed to paper, although its terms can reasonably be fairly well figured.

“ Certainly,” says the learned Padre Bartolomé de las Casas—“ certainly, if Cristobal Colón did actually promise to Martin Alonso Pinzón the one-half part of *all* the rewards to be received from the Crown, Martin Alonso Pinzón was not so very simple—he and his brothers being such skilful people in their affairs, and esteemed by the whole district to be such—that they did not ask for the agreement made to be put into writing, even though nothing further than a simple recognition duly signed by the contracting parties ; or, at least, that their heirs-at-law

THE TWO PARTIES TO THE VENTURE

should have made *some* claim ; and Vicente Yañez Pinzón, who lived some years after his brother (he is reputed to have died in 1524), and whom I knew, might have made it public ; but never was anything spoken publicly about it, nor any plaint formalised by their heirs-at-law ; and this matter could not possibly have escaped me, as I was living in those very days, until the suit was commenced some years later—I believe in 1508—at the time of the return of the King from Naples ” (*op. cit.*, Lib. I., cap. 34).

The argument is not without some force, however, it being evident at any rate that the son, Juan Martin Pinzón, was not in possession of any written contract or document ; or else he certainly would have made use of it at the time of making his claim and proofs in the year 1532 (*See Proceedings*).

That, certainly, is a very important and striking circumstance ; and yet, after all, the matter has a simple explanation ; for Martin Alonso Pinzón was of that rare type—successful, proud and confident, a leader in his country, possessing a considerable stake therein—which would place him outside the meaner atmosphere of commercial and selfish calculation and proceeding ; and that he was one of the nobler type was amply demonstrated during the trying days of the eventful journey on the high seas of the Unknown West.

The more astute and commercial minded Colón did not show anything like such a type of character as that of Pinzón's in his dealings with that family on his return from the Voyage of Discovery, and no doubt he took full advantage of the opportunity and of his position to be considered the sole partner—there was nothing *in writing* against him !

Of these two parties we have, on the one side, a noble and high-minded generosity, combined with a powerful and skilful activity and an invaluable experience, dedicated to the full *pro patria* ! And, on the other, a compound of a little learning, much cunning, and unscrupulous selfishness excited to a deep antipathy and very pronounced jealousy and animosity—the ordinary struggle

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of an inferior with a vastly superior character and personality.

Thus formally classified, all the written pages of the history of 1484-1564 remain clear and intelligible as to the characters, motives and actions of the two principal *personae dramatis* of this tragedy!

To the observation that the heirs-at-law of Martin Alonso Pinzón did not bring any action may be added that it is also surprising that his son, Juan Martin Pinzón, who was no mere boy when the expedition sailed, did not apparently move in the matter until so many years later—about fifteen—and then, deciding to appear, did so ; but merely as a disinterested party almost, transferring his rights in the matter to the Crown of Castilla ; attending rather to aid the arguments of the Fiscal in its defence than to his own conscience and rights.

This is almost inexplicable, but if Pinzón were so simple, in the opinion of the Padre de las Casas, as not to have obtained an instrumental document in testimony of the promises made to him by Colón, simpler still would he have been not to have demanded the repayment of the loan, participation or joint-ownership in the half-million maravedis, and the satisfaction of a share in the stipulated conditions ?

Neither is it known—or, at any rate, it is not on record—that the heirs of Pinzón brought any action at law, made any formal or public reclamation, or even talked about making any claim for the amount of money due by Colón to their father ; but because there do not exist or are not known any such instruments or documents of recognition by Colón, it is not necessarily established that some such were *not* inscribed at the time, and possibly lost or even destroyed in the circumstances of the tragic death of the returned discoverer—his sons being absent ; nor was it a very extraordinary thing that the mariner of Palos, placing unlimited faith in Colón's verbal promises, being himself strictly " a man of his word," merely confided in that of the " Caballero," the Captain of the Armada of their Majesties, as regarded the favours and rewards to

OWNERSHIP OF THE VESSELS

be obtained of the Crown—which as yet were far from being in his actual possession.

The traits of character of Martin Alonso Pinzón which stand out clear and striking in the various proofs of the contending parties to the lawsuits, extending over so many years—and testified to by so many competent and reliable witnesses—create and authorise the belief that Pinzón was quite satisfied with the bare verbal promises of Colón, which, too, decided him to set about the formation and outfit of *his* armada : it never was Colón's !

There has also been made a matter of dispute the question of the ownership of one of the three vessels, the *Pinta*, which led the armada, and in which went as master his brother Francisco Martin Pinzón, because Colón has it in his Diary : “ *I suspected that it was by or through the agency of the mariners Gomez Rascon and Cristobal Quintero, to whom the ‘ carabela ’ belonged, that the helm became unshipped, because they had been unwilling to go with the expedition, and went against their will.* ”

If these two men were the owners of the *Pinta* it is not easy to explain how it occurs that they appear merely as units of the *crew* and not occupying senior positions as captain, master, boatswain, etc. This is either a faulty rendering of the phrase or, at most, signifies that they held or had invested some interest in the vessel ; and yet again that is hardly presumable, considering the means of the Pinzón family, even although they were of Palos. Pedro Enriquez (Roll 2, packet 3) affirmed “ *that at the time the Admiral returned from the voyage a vessel of his own, in which went Martin Alonso Pinzón, arrived at Bayona, in Galicia.* ”

Various witnesses, too, such as Martin Nuñez, Garcia Fernandez, the apothecary or doctor of the *Pinta*, Diego Penton, and Arias Perez, affirmed that two of the vessels of the armada were the property of Martin Alonso Pinzón.

Cristobal Colón himself embarked in the largest of the three vessels, which had been chartered from its owner and master, afterwards the famous navigator, Juan de la

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Cosa, a native of the Basque town of Santa Maria del Puerto de Santoña, now Santoña. He subsequently accompanied Colón on his second voyage.

According to Fernando Colón, the Padre de las Casas, Herrera, Muñoz, and other historians of the period, it was named *Santa Maria*, and therefore Fernandez de Navarrete, being aware of the terms of the declaration of Cristobal Garcia (a pilot who was of the crew of the *Pinta*), taken at Jamaica in 1516 (Roll 2, Packet 3, *Archivo de las Indias*), who named it the *Marigalante* (*op. cit.*, Vol. III., p. 572), presumed that he had been mistaken in the name—had mixed it up with that of the chief vessel of the Second Voyage of Discovery, and without doubt named *Mari-galante* ; on account of which the name was given to one of the first of the islands then discovered ; but now comes to light amongst the files newly registered another declaration of a person of some considerable importance and responsibility—Hernan Perez Mateos, a cousin of Martin Alonso Pinzón, and pilot to Colón on his second voyage on board the *Marigalante*, repeating with great confidence “ *that on the First Expedition sailed from Palos three vessels : named the “Pinta,” in which went Martin Alonso Pinzón as captain, and his brother Francisco Martin Pinzón as master ; another vessel named the “Niña,” on board of which went as captain Vicente Yañez Pinzón ; and the other craft, in which went Cristobal Colón.*”

Singularly, Oviedo (*op. cit.*) observes that Colón's vessel was named *la Gallega*, explaining that the three vessels composing the armada carried 120 persons in all, and differing from the lists given by Don Fernando Colón and the Padre de las Casas, who fixed that total at ninety.

Colón's chief vessel had been built on the north coast of Spain, and without doubt might have been variously known as the *Santa Maria*, alias *Marigalante* or *Mariagalante* or *la Gallega*, as it was quite the common custom for all vessels until quite a recent period not only to possess the formal baptismal name given to them on launching, but to have one or more nicknames. Similarly,

THE EVE OF DEPARTURE

too, the *Niña* was named the *Santa Clara* (*Memorias*, Vol. X, pp. 192, 292).

And now to a consideration in detail of the voyage itself.

The following is the pictorial description of the departure of the armada from Palos, which is picturesquely placed almost at the very junction of the famous rio Tinto with the Odiel and the ocean, by Cesário Fernández Duro in his estimable work *Disquisiciones Nauticas* (Vol. VI., p. 611).

"The 3rd of August, 1492, arrived, a memorable day, and half an hour before sunrise there were to be seen grouped on the river bank the inhabitants, *en masse*, of the neighbourhood (of Palos, Moguer, Huelva, etc.—Ed.), very closely concerned and interested in the final preparations being made and in the movements of the three vessels about to set sail on their adventurous voyage. Colón embarked in a small boat of his flagship, the *Capitana*, being bidden a formal good-bye, with the customary benediction in such a public matter, by his confessor and friend of the convent of 'La Rabida,' the Father Friar Juan Perez; the actual moment of departure had arrived; the mooring buoys were cast free, the anchors weighed, and the soft land wind, which extended the gallant standard of Castilla at the moment, soon filled and pressed the sails of the brave craft, on which had been painted the 'Sign of the Redemption.' Slowly and majestically, and as though the vessels themselves were impressed with the feelings of their adventurous occupants, with prow towards the horizon—now tinted and brightened by streams of the golden light of the Aurora—one by one the vessels silently and steadily passed on to their destiny. The sobbing women and children stayed the tears of more than a moment's agony frantically to wave their kerchiefs in response to similar efforts of their departing kith and kin; the men raised their hats and caps and waved them in adieu; the little children beat their hands as though with joy and in a full-voiced, yet hoarse shout—because of the depth of their pain, pregnant with

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sorrow, doubt, hope, enthusiasm, pride and faith—mothers and wives, relatives and friends three times repeated their final ‘*Buen viaje,*’ ‘*Hasta la vuelta*’—‘*Adios!*’”

The Captain of the Armada, Cristobal Colón, commenced his Diary with “*In Nomine Domini Nostri Jesu Christi,*” and after the first three days of the momentous voyage found that he had to record the first disagreeable occurrence: the *Pinta* had suffered a serious injury to her rudder or steering-gear—according to testimony the rudder became unshipped—and saw, with much concern and perturbation, that he himself was unable to render any useful assistance without placing his own vessel in jeopardy, but much abated his concern, promptly, “*because he remembered and knew that Martin Alonso Pinzón was a very skilful mariner and a very ingenious person!*”

Again, attributing to the personal diligence and skill of Pinzón the successful repairing of the *Pinta* on two occasions during the course of their voyage as far as the Canary Islands, he finds nothing else of importance to note during the further prosecution of the voyage until they arrived within the “Sargazo Sea,” at the sight of which, and already tired of the undertaking, some of his crew, repentant, unhappy, and rather nervous, “*commenced to complain.*” *He says nothing about Pinzón’s crews.*

It does not appear from this *Diario* of Cristobal Colón that he attached any importance to the signs of this natural discontent, much less did he designate their conduct and action as one of insubordination—probably in view of the fact that the time had already passed within which he had promised to show to them the New World! His son, Fernando Colón, in his remarkable work, darkened the tints of the picture in order to make appear more striking and interesting the somewhat troubled situation of his father, the Discoverer. He was followed, as in other details, by the Father Friar Bartolomé de las Casas—*although the latter authority had at hand the original “Diary”!*

THE ALLEGED MUTINY

Lamartine and Washington Irving, like most of the foreign authors, made tremendous capital of the very critical position of the poor Genovese, isolated amidst a turbulent mob as furious as they were pusillanimous, but, nevertheless, firm, immovable and determined, like as the rock upon which the waves of the ocean beat, and are broken.

But not a word of *what was going on on board the other vessels commanded and crewed by the Pinzóns and their relatives and friends !*

This event—this mutiny—is one of those which, with the greatest care, effort and exaggeration was made to figure so prominently during the course of the years of litigation, figuring intentionally so in the Interrogatories and Proofs of both parties, many witnesses being examined consequently, of whom several had gone with the first expedition, and had seen and heard all that *really took place*. It will therefore be convenient to verify, carefully and slowly, the contents of the many papers themselves, as well as scrupulously to go over the texts of the various chroniclers, in order to be able to ascertain *how the "history" of that matter has been written*, and what it was that actually took place.

Before everything else let us occupy our attention with a rather late work (1879), which quite captivates us with the beauty of its form and the luxury of the edition. The graphic arts have, with liberal loving kindness, contributed to proportionate attractions, in *ornaments*, photographs, scenic views, figures, gold, strong colours; wishing, with all, to create a jewel with which to adorn the cabinets of aristocratic dames and the salons or libraries of men of pretension—pseudo literary patrons. Its author is the Comte de Roselly de Lorgues, who was, according to the appreciation of the Cardinal Donnet, one of the most illustrious of French writers, who observes that he—Roselly—"has consecrated his life to the defence of Catholicism and, in this work, destroys the many calumnies accumulated by a certain school which pretends to belittle the glory of the Genovese hero ; presenting a new history

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of Cristobal Colón, and demonstrating that he was a Providential person, a messenger from Heaven, and conditioned by a privileged Grace to the accomplishment of his admirable mission. The work, then, reunites the enchantment of form with the pious intention of its author to stimulate the veneration of true Catholics towards the 'Revealer of the Globe'—for so he styles him—giving colour also to the proposition of canonization which the worthy Cardinal Donnet elevated to the Holy See in his capacity as Archbishop of Bordeaux and Metropolitan of the French Antillas."

With all these apparently excellent conditions, the work ("*Christophe Colomb*," *par le Comte de Roselly de Lorgues. Edition illustrée d'encadrements variés à chaque page et de chromolithographies, scènes, paysages, marines, portraits et cartes.* Paris, 1879.) is not at all in conformity with the very valuable and correct Spanish records now under consideration. One is compelled to note the great differences, divergencies, and incorrect citation of the actual facts and records available to all, then as now; and although one is not of necessity required to discuss the opinions or the intentions of the Comte de Roselly de Lorgues—as, after all, it will become palpable that he has also committed the same departure, for unknown reasons, from the Spanish chroniclers, the only historical source to be relied upon—it can be simply asserted that he is not the only Catholic writer; that we do not belong to any of those schools which seek to belittle the glory and merits of anybody else, but with due determination and good faith to find the actual truth and facts of the case, and do not accept the system or method of exposing historical figures to view as one would set statues before a black velvet cloth with which to bring into very distinct relief the contour of the actual figure, but which serves also to destroy a good sight of any other near object.

Having finished this digression, let us see how the learned Comte de Roselly de Lorgues describes the "mutiny" of the crews of the vessels forming this expedition for the discovery of a New World; all

THE BIRD THEORY

of them are included in his reference—not merely Colón's only.

“ Martin Alonso Pinzon, whose vessel was the fleetest and going on ahead, had observed many birds flying westwards, assured Colón that, steering a more northerly direction, they would meet with the land at a distance of about fifteen leagues (=forty-five miles). Colón would not consent to their route being altered, although all pressed him to do so. This firmness appeared to the officers and crews to be nothing but a self-satisfied obstinacy, tired as they were with the unexpected prolongation of the voyage ; their fears led them joyfully to receive the assurance of soon seeing the land announced by Martin Alonso Pinzón, an experienced and able captain, as well as a well-known countryman ; and the round negative of Colón, therefore, occasioned a not altogether dumb discontent and secret irritation against him amongst the crews of the three vessels ” (*op. cit.*, p. 133).

“ The minds and feelings of the mariners were involuntarily affected by a disaster-inspiring imagination, a natural consequence of the fantastic tales and traditions with which mariners entertained themselves in recounting and discussing during the long autumn evenings ; now treating of the uninhabited countries of the Unknown South : now of the mysterious gigantic submarine of the North, of the Craken, the horrifying octopus which with one tentacle had grip of the Baltic whilst with another it held the German Ocean ; of the deceiving sirens ; of the *monjes de mar* ; of the anonymous monsters—great and small—which carried ships down into the unknown abyss. Amongst the officials the more stout-hearted, without adding anything to the real dangers, were afraid of the keels of the vessels striking the deadly reefs hidden by the masses of seaweed, destroying them far from land, in the midst of those weedy wastes, and from which it would be impossible to escape by their boats through not being able to use the oars in such dense masses of apparently never-ending weed. . . .

“ At dawn on the 1st of October (1492) the lieutenant

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of the watch, with accents of terror which he could not altogether dominate, declared that from the 'Isla de Hierro' (Canary Islands) they had already sailed 560 'leguas' (=1,600 miles?), a figure which completely crushed if not destroyed their courage and hopes, although it was far from being the correct one. . . ."

[It is not stated on which vessel this occurred.]

"At the instigation of the officials the crews reunited in groups of three and four units in the 'tween decks of the forepart with the object of mutual consolation and alleviation of their fears and dismay; but, on the contrary, they were rather increased than lessened with mutual interchange of their tearful lamentings. The reunions became more frequent and numerous as each day passed, until, the discontent being general, nobody took any pains to dissimulate, they rather encouraging one another to almost open insubordination, to an active resistance to continue further with the voyage. As Spaniards they naturally detested the foreigner who had—in their opinion now—determined to risk *their* lives in order to become a great personage at their expense. They referred to him as the 'Genovese,' the humbug and charlatan, talking ill of him even in his presence.

"The older members of the crews estimated that the persistency of their captain in steering to the west was foolishness itself. They now recollected the gloomy presentiments of their families, the fears and doubts that had circulated in the towns of Palos and Moguer; the opposition which had been pronounced by the cosmographers of Salamanca to the project of the Genovese, lamenting, too, the confidence that had been placed in the 'Guardian' of the Convent of La Rabida, who in his turn had also been humbugged by this foreign adventurer! All understood that further to prolong the voyage was but surely to follow the road to ruin.

"They had already deplored the obstinacy which resulted in his not taking the slightest notice of them: supplications, representations, appeals, nothing had served to break that diabolical tenacity of purpose: he listened to

SPREADING THE "MUTINY"

the murmurs, saw the misery and anxiety, and yet did not desist from urging them to a certain doom. Most thoroughly had their obedience, discipline and valour already been tested and proved ; were they still, in blind submission, to continue to work their own ruin ? Because the iron tenacity of purpose and will of the Chief brought inattention to their complaints—for nothing apparently of that kind moved or touched his self-satisfied determination—necessity demanded that they themselves should find the means of a common salvation, by imposing upon him the law which he malignantly inculcated.

" With this, it was agreed that on a night to be determined upon later he (Colón) should be thrown overboard. Thus secretly decided the three crews ! *We have proofs that during the voyage the crews of the three vessels were much brought into contact with each other by means of the ships' boats in executing the requirements of service.*"

The learned writer seems to have been very sure and certain that the other two vessels, under the Pinzóns, were also *particeps criminis*, although this does not exactly come out in the proceedings taken on behalf of Colón under consideration. To resume :

" The conspiracy, rapidly contrived under the influence of ignorance and fear, was extended and propagated on the ships from poop to prow : all counted themselves as accomplices without yet having any distinct head or leader ; the pilots thinking with dumb voice that which without hesitation or scruple was now openly discussed by the subordinate officers and crews.

" The captains of the *Pinta* and the *Niña* (the Pinzóns, their relatives and friends) were not ignorant of this conspiracy, but, on the other hand, being the much better instructed and more familiarised with the high seas than the crews, did not share their fears to such an extent ; and they also knew that, in reality, they were the masters of the situation ; for, with the exception of a few of the officials of the *Santa Maria*, the entire three crews were devoted to *them*, those of two of them being almost to a man their own townsmen. The Pinzóns abstained from

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any personal manifestation, but, without exactly stimulating or urging the crews, did not attempt to place any check upon their commentaries on deck and in the forepeak. On many occasions in their interviews with the Chief of the Fleet the three Pinzóns, the *eldest of them in particular, by the imprudence of their gestures and the grossness of their speech*, made Colón to know and to feel his isolation, and the force of their respective positions . . .

“ On Wednesday, the 10th of October (1492), the breeze became re-established, impelling the fleet at the rate of ten miles per hour. During the day and night they navigated 59 leagues (=236 k.=141 miles?), a rapidity which more and more alarmed the crews. Their terror burst forth, declaring in full insurrection, the Captain seeing himself placed helpless in the midst of the most violent danger that the commander of a fleet of vessels had ever experienced.

“ Many authors have repeated that, in such a position, Colón, threatened by his crews, was of necessity obliged to give up the voyage and return if within three days the long-sought-for land was not met with. Such assertions have no foundation in fact. The *modesty of Colón, excessive in all matters having relation to his own person*, the superiority of his inspirations, his contempt of offence, his charity for human weaknesses, *all inclined him to omit from his diary the details of this mutiny*. Writing in it with excessive exactness of occurrences of much less interest and importance, including the mention of the throwing of a stone by a ship's boy at a pelican from the rigging of the *Santa Maria*, the Great Man did not deign to set down and record the threats, the fury, the iron held threateningly over his head. He scarcely indicates, even incidentally, the demands of the crews which of themselves made manifest and plain their insurrectionary condition and temper.

“ There was not—neither could there have been—between Colón and his rebellious crews, any transaction of bargaining, just as there can be none between the Spirit of the Maker and that of the World.”

A DESCRIPTION OF THE MUTINY

[A very striking demonstration of the catholicity of the distinguished writer the Comte Roselly de Lorgues.]

“ The catastrophe occurred in the following manner :

“ Martin Alonso Pinzón, sustained until now by the memory of his visit to Rome and his estimation of the genius of Colón, at last became contaminated with the fear of the unknown : his self-confidence failed him ; he ceased to combat, to struggle with the counsels of fear, and, *with his two brothers, united with the rebels.*”

Here it will be entertaining and instructive to read some of the declarations of the crews themselves, and in particular to note and remember *the offer of Martin Alonso Pinzón “ to hang any of Colón’s crew making any fuss, and to throw their bodies overboard.”* See that of Alonso Gallego in answer to the fourteenth Question of the Proof of Villalobos, of 22nd December, 1535 ; and, in particular, that of Hernan Perez Mateos to the same question, of the 26th January, 1536 (Roll 2, packet 14).

And now for the tragic scene which followed—according to the Comte Roselly de Lorgues !

“ At nightfall, at the hour and moment when, by order of Colón, the three vessels should come close alongside each other, the *Pinta* and the *Niña* did so, one on either quarter. Aided by those of the *Santa Maria*, and followed by their own crews fully armed (referring undoubtedly to the Pinzóns), they rushed upon the deck of the Captain’s ship furiously brandishing their weapons, and demanded that their course should immediately be altered, and towards Castilla. The pilots of the *Santa Maria* (Colón’s vessel), the King’s officials, *even the nephew of his own wife*, joined with the mutineers ! ”

Now who was this “ nephew of his wife ” ? Her name was Felipa Muñoz, or Muñiz, de Perestrello, and no such name as Muñoz occurs amongst those of the list, elsewhere given, of those who went with this expedition.

“ Colón found himself alone—all against him ! Arguments, persuasion, firm assurance, all already had been exhausted ; there not even remained to him the resource of any new or further objection or resistance against the

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sinister unanimity of the threatened violence ; fear neither listens nor reasons : he was able, nevertheless, to appease and calm their fury and their panic, subject and subdue the spirits of the men launched upon crime to the instinct of self-preservation ; and not only repulsed their threats and impositions, but even went so far as to prohibit their making demands, declaring, with the firm tone of high authority, that their complaints and violent demonstrations would conduce to no good ; he was determined to continue the voyage towards the West until, with God's aid, he reached the Indies."

"How was it that the exasperation, the animosity fired by the more ferocious instincts of life were, in a moment, tamed, extinguished, before a cursed foreigner who in vain hitherto had invoked the names of their sovereigns ? No mariner, no philosopher, no mere man, not even Colón himself could humanly explain it. The outburst of rebellion, of mutiny, made under the veil of Night, was dissipated with its shadows."

"History and Poetry have lauded the intrepid coolness of Colón and the audacity of his heart of ' thrice-tempered steel.' His passion for celebrity has been exalted, his contempt for death itself, believing to honour him with the qualification of ' el heroe de la Gloria ' ! . . . The summit, the limit, of biographical error ! "

So far the elegant chronicler, the Comte de Roselly de Lorgues, thus abbreviated and roughly translated the conceptions with which he dedicates his description or narrative of this revolution of the armada. Making free use of the essential data—or what he thought to be such—of the histories of Fernando Colón and of Gonzalo de Oviedo—he did not know that of the Inca Garci Laso de la Vega—he has presented them, compounded and adorned with ornaments, original and exclusively his own ; it being regrettable that he reserved the proofs which he assures us he possessed, because they probably might have served to destroy others entirely contrary, known to the public. For example, it is known that Pinzón proposed during the voyage that their route or course should be changed

COLON'S OWN DESCRIPTION

to the *western* and not to the *northern* quadrant, Colón accepting the suggested change, far from jeering and refusing it ; it is also known that the three vessels communicated with each other by coming so close to one another as to be able to hear each other and understand by simple word of mouth ; and that on one occasion when Colón sent to Pinzón, in consultation, the chart of Toscanelli, he did so by means of a cord, and in that simple way it was also returned to him.

Vessels of such a small size as these were did not require to use their small skiffs for intercommunication, nor would they have been able to do so without much inconvenience and labour, carrying them as they did placed amidships and not suspended from davits. The Comte de Roselly it is who has required to use these boats for the purposes of the conspiracy, because, without them, the mutineers necessarily would have had to shout to each other and so disclose their vile intentions. And, therefore that does not permit of the secret close intelligence and agreement of the three crews, nor the preparation of the very terrifying boarding of the *Santa Maria*—starboard and port—under the veil of Night, *to capture a single person*, alone, absolutely, and abandoned even by his one relative !

Colón—and this is exact—did not note in his Diary, although he kept it with scrupulous care, more than that the crew murmured, demonstrating inquietude and nervousness. So natural was such an attitude, such conduct, that it really neither caused him surprise nor obliged him to attach any importance to it, although it troubled him somewhat undoubtedly. But he was a seasoned voyager ! Not *from magnanimity* did he fail to note in his Diary, and in the letters he afterwards wrote to the King, the perpetration of a crime, the alleged mutiny against the Crown's arms and officers : of what it was obligatory upon him to do, to register in close detail, *he did not record it—simply because that crime was never really perpetrated, because there had never existed any rebellion and armed riot by the crews !*

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Curiously enough, offences of a very much lighter nature were noted down by him with all their petty details—to a dispassionate mind much more so than was at all necessary. On the other hand, if his disdain of that exceptional outrage in such very extraordinary circumstances blunted his pen, it should not have restrained those of his son Fernando nor of the learned Bishop of Chiapa, so diligent and quick as they were in correcting and exculpating the errors and omissions of the Admiral. Neither one nor the other of these two authors ascribes to the restless state of the crews a degree that passed the limits of simple insubordination.

Gonzalo Fernandez de Oviedo, who, as is well known, noted every species of rumour—ingeniously declaring their supposed origin—treated with great latitude this supposed mutinous outbreak of the “crews” of the armada. (*Hist. Gen. y Nat. de Indias*, 1854. Edit. *de la Acad. de la Hist.*, Vol. I., p. 23.)

“Free, then, from the fear and danger of the Sea of Weed [the Sargazo Sea], the three captains (*sic*) and their crews, being determined to set about returning to Spain, and even consulting amongst themselves as to throwing Colón into the sea, fully believing that they had been made fools of by him, as he was an astute person and felt and understood the meaning of the murmuring that was going on against him, Colón prudently commenced to comfort them with many soothing and encouraging words and phrases, *requesting them to cease from wasting his time and energy!* He reminded them how much glory and profit would surely be theirs by continuing the journey to a successful end; promised them that in a very few days he would put an end to all their fatigues, and to the voyage, with, as a reward, much and indubitable prosperity; and, in conclusion, assured them that the land which they were seeking for would be met with in three days; and, therefore, that they should be of good humour and full of confidence, and should continue the voyage, so that when he had told them he would show them a New World, and had done so, and that their

AGREEMENT FOR THREE DAYS

fatigues were all over, they would see that he had always told them the simple truth, as much to them as to the King and Queen—to all ; and that, if it should not result so, they could do with him as they liked and thought best, but that he himself had not the slightest doubt about the success of the matter.

“ With these words and persuasions he moved the hearts of the most weak-minded of the dismayed ones, of those who were premeditating something criminal—in particular, too, the three brother captain-pilots I have mentioned ; and they agreed to obey what was ordered by him and to continue to navigate for a further three days, and no more, with the agreement and determination that they should all return to Spain if, at the expiry of that period, no land should have been met with. This latter was that which they deemed to be the more certain to happen, for by none of them was it believed that on the parallel and route they were making they could possibly meet with any land. And they told Colón that for the further three days’ time he had demanded and they had agreed to, they would obey and follow him, but not for one single hour more, because they believed and were convinced that not one single thing of all that had been told them by him would turn out to be true or be realised ; and by general conformity and assent all refused to continue the voyage, saying that they did not willingly or knowingly intend to go to their most certain doom ; and maintained that the supplies of food and water they then had left would not be sufficient to last them back to Spain without running great danger, however carefully they might ration themselves. And as, with failing courage and hearts oppressed with a sense of dread they could think of nothing to alleviate their distress and fatigues, especially as regarded that involved in their continuous day and night labours—always on the watch—not for a moment did they cease to murmur and threaten their principal captain.

“ Neither did he (Colón) neglect any opportunity to comfort and animate the crews to continue and not to give

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up the voyage ; and the more unsettled and unwilling he found them, the more confidence and hopefulness he showed, trying to strengthen and help them to cast off their timorous perturbations. And on the same day on which Colón so spoke to them he really knew that they *must* be near to land because of the appearance of the clouds, and warned the pilots that if by any chance the vessels should become separated, lost to sight of each other, they, in such case, should steer in the direction he indicated and ordered to be observed, so that they should be brought together again. And, the night coming on, he ordered the vessels to shorten sail and proceed under the lower foresails only ; and whilst thus journeying on, a mariner, one of the crew of the captain's vessel, a native of the town of Lepe (near Huelva), suddenly exclaimed '*A light ! Land !!*'

" But you must also know," continued Oviedo, " that on the contrary several maintain differently as to what has been alleged of the constancy and determination of Colón to proceed at all risks, and even affirm that *Colón actually changed his intention* and intended to give up the project, and would most certainly have done so *if the brothers Pinzón had not compelled him to continue on* ; and I will say more—that, in my opinion, *it was they, the Pinzóns, who actually made the Discovery*, that *Colón had lost all hope and wished to return to Spain—to confess to Failure*. This matter will be better remitted to a consideration of the lengthy legal proceedings now going on between the Admiral and the Fiscal of the Crown, wherein, for and against, many things and matters are contained and alleged, which I do not intend to enter upon, because, as they are matters *sub judice*, and by the competent tribunal have finally to be decided upon, it will be better to await the determination they will duly receive. But I have given the opinions and statements of both parties : the reader may adopt that which his good judgment dictates."

To those very legal processes, then, let us go. We have already gone, to some substantial and instructive purpose !

THE WITNESSES' DECLARATIONS

One of the questions formulated in the proof presented on the part of the Admiral (Colón) was * : “ *If the witnesses knew that when the Admiral went on the Voyage of Discovery, his first journey, many of those on board, and the mariners, wished to return to Spain without having reached land, saying that they were lost ; therefore it is believed and held to be certain that if the Admiral (Colón) had not discovered the Indies they would have remained undiscovered until to-day.* ”

Neither in this question nor in any other of those contained in this Interrogatory is any rebellion alluded to or supposed, nor are the captains of the “ carabelas ” mentioned : the witnesses, then, had a clear field to state all they knew without grave inculpation of anybody in particular. Many witnesses were called to answer it, counting amongst them four who had been actual witnesses, participators, in the occurrences, including two of the “ nao ” *Capitana*, the *Santa Maria*. One of them, Pedro de Bilbao, a Basque, a native of Larrabezúa, of the party of Colón, as it were, and not of Pinzón's, declared † : “ *That he many times heard that several of the pilots and mariners wished to return, give up ; and would have done so if it had not been for the Admiral, who promised them good reward, and requested them to keep on for a further few days and that before their expiry land would be met with.* ” Another of the crew of the *Santa Maria* (Colón's vessel), Garcia Alonso, of Palos, affirmed ‡ : “ *That he had heard it said amongst the mariners that they were lost, and that the Admiral had replied to their complaint saying that he would soon be able to show them the land sought for.* ” The other witnesses, limiting themselves to the declaration that the Discovery of the Indies was certainly due to Cristobal Colón, stated also that they did not understand or did not

* The seventh question of the second Interrogatory ; the fifteenth according to Navarrete, *op. cit.*, Vol. III., p. 589.

† Roll 2, packet 4. Fernandez Navarrete, *op. cit.*, Vol. III., p. 589.

‡ Roll 2, packet 2. Fernandez Navarrete, *op. cit.*, Vol. III., p. 589.

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know of the matters contained in the other part of the question : singularising themselves in particular : Francisco de Morales and Pedro de las Casas.*

Francisco de Morales, whose declaration was unknown to Fernandez de Navarrete, affirmed that he heard Juan Niño, who went in the first expedition on board the *Pinta*, under the command of Vicente Yañez Pinzón, state “ *that in the middle of the Gulf, or perhaps a little farther, the boatswains (‘maestres’) of the three vessels met together and arranged to request the Admiral to return to Spain, because, according to the indications and observations in this region easterly winds prevailed, and that if they continued they would be unable to return ; and that Cristobal Colón replied that they need not occupy themselves about that sort of obstacle, that God, who provided it, would give them a more favourable wind to return with ; and that the under-officers and mariners thereat declared that ‘rather than consent to go on they would resort to force’ ; to the which threat Colón told them that they would not achieve very much by killing him and his personal servants, who were few in number, and that his death would be very dearly paid for to the King ; and that they should agree to continue on for a further three days, and that if within that period they should not reach the land they would be free to do as they pleased ; to which proposal they all consented and continued their course.*”

This Morales went with Colón on his *second* voyage. His declaration † was taken at Santo Domingo on the 16th June, 1512.

Pedro de las Casas, a native of the town of Tarifa, who also was not one of those allied to “those of Palos ” (the Pinzóns), declared ‡ : “ *That he had heard it said that to Colón was due the discovery of the Indies, and had also heard from a Pinzón who had returned on bad terms with the Admiral as regards what else is contained in the question.*”

* Roll 2, packet 2, and Roll 2, packet 4.

† *Memorias, op. cit.*, Vol. X., p. 223.

‡ Fernandez Navarrete, *op. cit.*, Vol. III., p. 589.

THE MUTINY A FABLE

From these Proofs of the Admiral we ascertain, then, that only one witness of the hundred presented on his behalf declared—and then only on *mere hearsay*—that a mutiny had occurred on board his vessel, the *Santa Maria* ; with the manifest inexactitude that, for that purpose, the boatswains or petty officers (*maestres*) of the three vessels coalesced and connived at a certain highly criminal purpose, high treason on the seas ; but four of those witnesses, who had necessarily heard and seen all that actually took place on the voyage, affirmed merely “ that amongst the crews there had been dissatisfaction, murmurings and expressed wishes to give up the journey and return home, although easily calmed by the persuasions of Cristobal Colón ” ; and one other witness declared that “ he doubted whether Colón was the person to whom the Discovery of the Indies was actually due ”—a quite hostile witness for Colón.

The result of this testimony agrees with the relations of the chroniclers of the period, that there most certainly had *not* been any *mutiny* or *rebellion* of the crews of the armada which sailed from Palos under Colón in 1492.

For the Proofs of the Fiscal of the Crown, by way of answers to the fourteenth, fifteenth, and twentieth questions of the Interrogatory,* as far as these particular matters are concerned—that is, if Pinzón gave courage to the crews of the armada when almost all of them, as well as Colón himself, desired to give up the venture and return to Spain : if the fleet changed its course in recognition of the belief that they were steering a wrong one : if it were Pinzón who really made the discovery of the Indies—amongst the witnesses called were three who had seen and heard all that had passed in the armada during the voyage, the bulk of the others being relatives, friends and fellow-townsmen of the crews of the armada, who had been present at the start and the return of those ships of Palos, and to whom there can be no shadow of doubt *all* that had happened on the vessels during the voyage of

* Roll 2, packets 5, 13, 14, 15, 16, 18, 23 and 24.

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any importance and singularity was duly recounted again and again in detail.

The testimony of these particular people is of the very greatest importance, and it is fortunate that it has been preserved to us and has come to light, so that questions and matters of opinion and theory are reduced to matters of plain fact and circumstance. They were taken and formally recorded during the years 1512, 1513, 1515, etc. And particularly and notably interesting and valuable is the declaration of the captain of the "nao" *Niña*, Vicente Yañez Pinzón, brother of Martin Alonso Pinzón, who afterwards achieved much notoriety in other considerable and important voyages and discoveries in the West Indies and farther south, taken in 1513. (Taken at Sevilla, 12th February, 1513. Roll 2, packet 24.)

As to the matter of the course they had been steering nine witnesses declared that, on the direction and order of Martin Alonso Pinzón—*not of Colón*—it was altered "a quarter *south*"; Garcia Hernandez, the apothecary or doctor of the *Pinta*; Francisco Garcia Vallejo, a mariner of the same ship; and Fernando Martin Gutierrez declaring and explaining that the alteration of course was not made capriciously, but because Pinzón, as a person very experienced and an adept in nautical matters, had observed the passing of many birds of a class *which sleep on land at night*, but go out to sea during daytime to feed, took note of the direction of their flight at nightfall, and, consequently, changed his course—the result being that he soon reached land. Quite a simple matter.

In the explanations of the supposed mutiny there is so much conformity amongst the few witnesses affirming it, that, as a consequence, the opinion that it never occurred at all is strongly fortified. The various events are narrated in different ways, vary in the distance, the moment and method of what they say occurred; from which it is to be deduced that there had not been any confabulation or previous arrangement; yet they coincide in the essential, presenting the events in a very diverse manner from the relations until now admitted in the numerous accounts

PINZON'S RESOLUTION

and histories of these matters. One is invited, prudently, to a close reading and study of the declarations themselves so as not to misinterpret their signal importance by considering cursory extracts ; the attention being forcibly called to the very steady and marked persistence with which the various witnesses repeated that what they had stated and affirmed was quite public talk and notorious to all in the district—Palos, Moguer and Huelva—and that nothing else was talked about on the return of the armada but what had happened during the voyage, and not only in the streets of those towns but also on board every vessel and fishing smack between Cadiz and Cape St. Vincent, and further !

In substance these witnesses deposed that navigating on a westerly course, after the armada had proceeded some 800 or 900 leagues (? about 59 deg. W.) without having yet come across any indications of land, the crews became weary and sick of the task, suspecting even that they had been misled, and by a foreigner ! It is comprehensible that the dissatisfaction was much the more emphatic *on board Colón's ship*, the *Santa Maria*, either because he was the initiator of the enterprise or, again, from the circumstance of his being a foreigner and unknown to them : differences not compensated for by any amiable and personal conditions of character.

Doubtless there were murmurings, complaints and critical and unpleasant observations made by the crew towards its commander ; and, as the witnesses declared, doubt and loss of confidence dismayed them so much as to decide them to propose to Pinzón to give up the quest and return to Spain. He, of Palos, the real owner of the expedition, of the armada, answered them bravely that there existed no real reason or cause to counsel them to such a determination ; that he could still count upon sufficient supplies of food and water to enable them to return in case of failure ; that they enjoyed good health ; and, above all, that they were the trusted bearers of the Standards of High Princes of their " Patria," to which they dared not return tarnished with failure ; and that he

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was, therefore, determined to continue "Forwards! Forwards!" although even a year should be required to discover the land they were seeking, or perish in the attempt!

These valiant phrases and high sentiments are those of a very stout-hearted seaman of the right school, one who evidently deserves to rank side by side with our own innumerable maritime heroes—the founders of our nation; yet he is almost unknown to English readers and records, except it be in an obscure corner of a page of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, and it is notorious that our records of all that concerns Spain are obviously and notoriously insufficient, inconsequential and too often very inexact and therefore misleading.

The phrases of speech put into the mouth of Pinzón by the various witnesses are all equally valiant and noble; and in them he hopefully and stoutly maintained that they would all return to their homes and families successful and rich; that he would, for his part, *obey only* the mandate of their sovereigns, by whom they had been sent and who trusted and confided in their energy and good faith; and the same witnesses also assured us that Pinzón obtained obedience and respect, although sometimes exhibiting harshness in his speech. More, it is particularly worthy of note and record that, even when on occasions passion was displayed by him—now indifference, and then deliberate exaggeration—to Pinzón was always and only attributed, in every circumstance during the troublesome end of the voyage, the credit and valour of having persistently exclaimed and confidently urged from ship to ship and from crew to crew, so that they all should hear and thoroughly know and understand *his* feelings and determination:

"ADELANTE!" "ADELANTE!!" FORWARDS! FORWARDS!!

The truth of the matter has been frequently suggested as set forth in the declaration of the octogenarian pilot, Hernan Perez Mateo, then living in retirement in the

PINZON'S ADVICE TO COLON

island of Santo Domingo, when he was called upon to declare in 1512 as a witness for the Admiral (Colón). As to the matter of what actually had taken place on board the armada when in the "Gulf," probably somewhere about the Sargazo Sea, he replied, that he had heard it said by Martin Alonso Pinzón and his brothers (being their uncle he was on terms of close intimacy with them) "*that the crew of the 'Santa Maria' wished to mutiny against Colón, believing themselves to be lost if they continued, and that he (Pinzón) advised Colón of the excited state they were in, and they consulted as to what was the best thing to do, and that Martin Alonso Pinzón, without any hesitation told him, 'Señor, ahorque vuesa merced media docena de ellos ó échelos á la mar, y si no se atreve, yo y mis hermanos barloaremos sobre ellos y lo harémos, que Armada que salió con mandado de tan Altos Principes no habia de volver atrás sin buenas nuevas.'*"

Which, in plain English, signified: "*Sir, hang half a dozen of them (the mutinous ones of Colón's own vessel), or throw them into the sea, and if you are afraid to do so then I and my brothers will come on board and grapple with them, and do so. That an Armada which started on its voyage under the orders of such High Personages cannot possibly return without good tidings—success.*" Not exactly the words or sentiments of a traitor!

This evidence of the veteran Hernan Perez should be taken to be an exact version of what actually took place on board the "*carabela*" of Colón and not on the other vessels; and similarly it ought to be understood that Colón neither suffered dismay nor want of confidence; that he did not go as far as to doubt, much less attempt to desist from the project which he had for at least eight long years caressed; but that, the resource of persuasion being exhausted and of no effect; observing the progress of the discontent, and that pronounced importunities were about to develop into actual insubordination—mutiny; fearful, yes, that an open tumult would bring absolute failure to his cherished enterprise, very prudently sought out the experienced captain of the *Pinta*, Martin Alonso

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Pinzón, at least if not for active protection, to sound his thoughts, ideas and wishes—noble, loyal and valuable, frequently very vehemently manifested and declared.

And those words and passages as much reflected the character of the one as of the other ; as clearly are to be seen the cautious prudence of the one as the impetuous energy and courage of the other—of the gallant seaman *Pinzón*. Fortunate for history, and beyond measure, was Cristobal Colón to have been accompanied by and to have been able to have recourse to such a splendid lieutenant—really and actually his leader ; *his master* ! To confirm these views we have the testimony of Francisco Garcia Vallejo, who, being of the crew of the *Pinta* and a witness presented by the Fiscal Villalobos on the part of the Crown, in the proof of 1515, and certainly one whose testimony was not easily to be doubted, certified that when Colón heard the spirited reply of *Pinzón*, and seeing how it animated and quieted the murmuring crews, exclaimed, “ *Bienaventurado seas* ” (Good fortune attend you).

The result of all this terrible “ mutiny ” was that without any loss of prestige, as it were, without any fault of Colón’s, for a second time, the discovery of the New World was due to the determination and intrepidity of Martin Alonso *Pinzón*.

Continuing their agreed upon westerly course, at length the indomitable captain of the *Pinta*, *Pinzón*, with a confident voice and gesture exclaimed “ Land ! ”

A magic word and sound, which in a moment changed a deep and very serious preoccupation of dread and disaster into happiness and satisfaction. When the eye-tired lookouts in the tops confirmed that effectively, they could see the long-sought and wished-for end of all their fatigues, doubts and troubles, as well as the successful termination of their prolonged quest, with immense joy and thankfulness they burst into a frenzy of delight, discharged salvoes of cannon and firearms, displayed their banners and flags, and, falling on their knees upon the decks as with a high inspiration of due thanksgiving to the

LAND SIGHTED

Almighty, one and all of the hardly-worn officers and crews of the armada intoned the *Gloria in excelsis Deo* !

Because this event took place at nightfall they all had to wait with the deepest impatience—but how hopefully and contentedly—for the morn, for the first rays of the morning light for the full realisation of their hopes. But when the critical hour arrived they could see nothing of any land, and presumed, in the mortification of their great disillusion, that the “lookout” of Pinzón had allowed himself to be deceived by a mere speck of cloud upon the horizon. But it was not so.

As to this matter the celebrated Father de las Casas writes as follows :

“ They all remained affirming, until the night set in, that it was *the land*, and I certainly believe that it really must have been such, because, according to the route they had followed, all the islands which the Admiral afterwards met with in his second voyage were found in that direction or quarter—towards the south-west.”

During the night of the 11th of October, 1492, once again on board the *Pinta* resounded the sympathetic voice : he who gave it being a seaman, no doubt intoxicated with the joy of being the fortunate one to earn the pension of 10,000 “maravedis,” which, to stimulate the vigilance of all, and as a reward, had been promised by the Catholic Kings of Castile to him who should be the first to be so fortunate.

On this ever-memorable occasion no further doubt was possible ; the moon’s full rays lit up a shoreland that soon was clearly seen by all.

For Cristobal Colón that voice was the herald of immortality, certifying the attainment of honours, glory and wealth ; from the moment he heard it he was Admiral and Viceroy of great Spain by virtue of the covenants he had made with the Crown of Castile ; and no doubt his joy and satisfaction were as great as had been his fears and sorrows at the murmurings and barely concealed threats, the outcome of the sufferings, hardships and deceptions that they had all experienced.

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Nevertheless, and it is but reasonable to have it recorded, Viceroy and Admiral withal, Colón yet wished *for himself* the petty amount which the mariner had confidently claimed as his undoubted and well-earned reward—a remedy for his poverty ; affirming that before anyone else he himself had been the first to see a light, the sure indication of either the land itself or of something in its near proximity.

Fernandez de Navarrete treats of this matter in Vol. III., pp. 611-613, of his oft-referred-to work.

The records of the processes sufficiently made clear all that actually took place as to this matter, without being contradicted or controverted by any other documents or accounts of this epoch with which they are being confronted and closely examined.

It is established or recorded in the Diary of Colón that on Thursday, the 11th of October, 1492, shortly after sundown, the armada continued its route and going "*unas doce millas per hora*" (about twelve miles per hour) the "carabela" *Pinta* leading, being the fastest of the three vessels : "*Dos horas antes de la media noche, estando en el Castillo de popa, vido lumbre, aunque cosa tan cerrada que no quiso afirmar que fuese tierra, y á las dos horas despues de media noche pareció la tierra, de la cual estarian dos leguas. Amainaron entonces las velas, barlamenteando hasta que llegára el dia.*"

Thus the Diary of Cristobal Colón, according to the version of Las Casas. The original is lost.

Now, if the "carabelas" were going at the rate of *twelve miles per hour*, as he notes, it is obvious that in four hours, from six to ten p.m., they would have covered forty-eight miles, which, added to the six miles of the two leagues distance he estimated to be the distance to the shore, would result in fifty-four miles ; at the moment Colón believed he saw the light, and called to his side Pero Gutierrez, who also saw it, and Rodrigo Sanchez de Segovia, who, however, *could not distinguish it*.

At the distance of fifty-four miles (Spanish) from the poops and even "look-outs" of vessels of the size of those

WHO SIGHTED LAND ?

of the armada, it was not possible for them to see or make out either a light or fire, nor for material impossibility, even the light of the highest power station of the first order, such as those now placed on capes, high points and approaches to ports. And although the Admiral may have been distracted at the moment of setting down the observation, and instead of twelve miles the vessels were only doing three miles per hour—or the fourth part of the rate he estimated, which is rather a slow rate of speed even for a sailing vessel, and, too, when impelled by a fresh breeze from the after quarter—the vessels would have been, after six hours' sailing, some eighteen miles off ; and it was therefore quite impossible for him to have seen a light on the shore, so low as is that of the “ island of Guanahani,” how much less so a light or torch of a boat of fishermen, or of natives on the beach, as has been a little too confidently affirmed by Fernando Colón and the Reverend Father Bartolomé de Las Casas, according to what is contained in the said Diary.

Fernando Colón says : “ *La Pinta* made the signal of ‘ land,’ first seen by Rodrigo de Triana, a mariner, *but to him was not given the reward of the thirty ‘ escudos,’* but to the Admiral, who first saw a light in the shadows of the coming night, in indication of the spiritual light introduced by him in those evening mists.” Whilst the learned Bishop of Chiapa (*autog. parag.*, Vol. I., c. 39), anticipating the Comte de Roselly de Lorgues by a few hundred years, has it : “ Light on land was first seen by a mariner named Rodrigo de Triana, but the reward of 10,000 maravedis (= £3) was awarded by their Majesties to Cristobal Colón, estimating that he having been the first to see a light was therefore the first to see the land : it might have been something thrown overboard from the forepeak.”

“ Hence one can collate a not insignificant argument as to the grace and justice of the Almighty, who, even to-day in this world, remunerates and castigates, responding to the confidences placed in His providence, and to the zealous labour and virtuous solicitude of each one, in that

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He ordained that as Cristobal Colón had borne and suffered the hardest work, anxiety and fatigue during the voyage (amongst them all his vessel was the slowest ; never the leading one) ; suffering more himself than his just share on account of his official capacity, together with the incivilities, perturbations, and ill-restrained murmurings that not infrequently they had all cast upon him ; and only he (Colón) held firm faith and persevering constancy in the Divine Providence, so that he in the end should not find himself defrauded of his right : he (Colón) himself attained to this slight favour and reward ; to him being accredited as the first to see the land, for his having been the first to see the light—in figure of the Spiritual !—that by His sufferings and sorrows Christ had to infuse in those peoples who lived in such profound shadows ; and, therefore, disputed the reward of the 10,000 maravedis, which is to be estimated, not so much for its intrinsic value, being but small, but for the happiness and comfort which it brought to him. Those 10,000 maravedis, as of right, he enjoyed through the rest of his life : and if I do not recollect wrongly, one day, talking to the ‘ Vice-Queen ’ of the Indies, the daughter-in-law of the Admiral (Cristobal Colón), of the events of that voyage, she told me that she, too, had continued to receive that amount, paid to her in the ‘ carnicerías ’ (the slaughter-house (public)) of the city of Sevilla,* where hitherto it had always previously been paid. And these things clearly show and confound the errors of those who invented and dared to say that Cristobal Colón had lost heart and confidence and had repented of his undertaking, *and that the brothers Pinzón had compelled him to keep on.*

“ There is also apparent the want of consideration with which Oviedo in his history, defrauding and taking away the glory and privilege which the Grace of the Almighty wished to be conceded to him who had so justly and worthily, before the whole world, obtained it : and who by reason of his incomparable labours and sufferings had so much deserved it, put this matter in doubt on the mere

* Should be *Cordoba* : Navarrete, *op. cit.*, Vol. II., p. 46.

RODRIGO DE TRIANA

information of one Hernan Perez, a mariner, and others similar, from whom Oviedo obtained and repeated much of the false matters he relates."

Oviedo * narrates that the first person to see land was named Rodrigo de Triana: "And after journeying through Spain, and because he could not obtain his reward, suffering much disappointment and hardship thereby, he went over to Africa and there renounced the Christian Faith. This person, according to what I heard from Vicente Yañez Pinzón (the captain of the *Niña*), and Hernan Perez Mateos, who also went in this first voyage, was a native of Lepe, as I have previously affirmed."

According to the "Autos," or official records, we find that :

FRANCISCO GARCIA VALLEJO, a mariner of the *Pinta*, declared that "on that Thursday night the moon shone clear, and a seaman of the said ship of Martin Alonso Pinzón (the *Pinta*), who was called Juan Rodriguez Bermejo, of Molinos, near Sevilla, as the moonlight strengthened saw the white head of a sandbank, and examined it carefully with his eyes, and saw that it really was the land, and thereupon briskly seized a *lombarda* (Lombardy gun) and discharged it, exclaiming ' *Tierra ! Tierra !* ' and the vessels stayed their course and very anxiously awaited the daylight of Friday, the 12th of October, 1492, when the said Martin Alonso Pinzón discovered Guanahani—the first island land—and this he (the declarant) knew, *because he was there and saw it all happen.*" †

The same adventure and history was declared by Manuel de Valdovinos (*see* proof taken at Lepe, in 1515, Roll 2, packet 23), and by Garcia Hernandez (*idem* at Huelva), steward of the *Pinta* : "that the first person to see the island of Guanahani was one of the crew of the *Pinta*, on board of which vessel the witness also went" [though no one of the name of Manuel de Valdovinos appears in the list of the crews of the three vessels of this

* Oviedo, *Hist. Gen. y Nat. de Indias*, Vol. I., p. 23.

† *See* Fernandez Navarrete, *op. cit.*, Vol. III., p. 574.

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expedition, given elsewhere] “ and Martin Alonso Pinzón ordered the guns to be fired immediately in signal of joy and of success . . . and when, in the morning, they all saw the land distinctly, *the said Martin Alonso Pinzón awaited the arrival of the vessel of the Admiral, which duly arriving, the Admiral said to Pinzon, ‘ Señor Martin Alonso, so you have found land ’ ; and Pinzón replied, ‘ Señor, my rewards are not lost after all,’ and that the Admiral then said to him, ‘ I will send you 5,000 maravedis as a gift ’ ; and that the witness knows this to have been so, as he was there and saw it all occur and happen.*” *

Fernandez Navarrete (*op. cit.*) was inclined to believe that Rodrigo de Triana and Juan Rodriguez Bermejo were really one and the same person, and that seems to be quite a reasonable supposition.

In the course of these proceedings this Garcia Hernandez is described as a “ dispensero,” a steward, and also as a “ fisico,” a surgeon or apothecary, a quasi-physician or doctor to the ship.

The various informations, documents and proceedings do not afford any explanation of importance or data by which we can assure or determine the exact situation of this island of “ Guanahani,” or “ San Salvador,” as Colón named it, nor determine or recount other acts and incidents of the armada until it arrived at the island of Cuba. Here we have to treat of one of the most important incidents of the whole voyage, of the separation of the carabela *Pinta*, under Martin Alonso Pinzón, from the other vessels, which gave cause and motive to lamentable dissensions between the two principal figures of this expedition.

The Fiscal of the Crown, Villalobos, pretended to make special merit of this separation of the vessels, desiring to prove that it was the cause and means of Pinzon’s having discovered the island of “ Española ” (Santo Domingo or Hayti), as well as some others, some seven weeks before Colón rejoined him, and after his having received a written message from Martin Alonso

* See Fernandez Navarrete, *op. cit.*, Vol. III., p. 565.

CONTEMPORARY COMMENTARIES

Pinzón asking him to do so ; and that to Pinzón was due the Dominion as well as the Discovery.

Even although it was a fact that Martin Alonso Pinzón was undoubtedly the principal factor of success in this expedition of the Discovery of the New World, *officially* the credit belongs to the Commander and Head of the Expedition; Pinzón accepted the situation as such at the time of their departure from Palos. The most important link of the chain once determined, the others have only a secondary importance, although each is useful in its own degree ; and, even so, neither is it absolutely proved and established that Pinzón did actually arrive at the island of " Española " some seven weeks before Colón ; nor in any case did his previous finding of it influence at all the matter of the sovereignty of that island ; nor is it quite certain that Colón was taken there at Pinzón's request and calling, as alleged in the proceedings on behalf of the Fiscal of the Crown, and also of the heirs of Pinzón.

More, if it be proved that the separation of the vessels was *deliberate* and *intentional*, then a very grave charge would result against Pinzón, that of an almost criminal fault, which could not have been overlooked by the Fiscal, Villalobos, without his incurring the charge of being partial, passionate, and even inexact. Let us compare, as in other previous matters, the sworn declarations of the witnesses with the " Diary " of Colón, or rather Las Casas' version of it, and the commentaries of contemporary chronicles.

Fernando Colón, the son of Cristobal Colón, as usual, is contradictory in his narrative and opinions at least. He narrates that on the 21st of October, 1492, " without experiencing contrary weather or similar difficulties, rather having the wind on the quarter to be easily able to make an approach, Martin Alonso Pinzón was navigating onwards and ahead, and when night arrived disappeared, so that the Admiral remained with two vessels only ; and not finding the weather suitable to make for the island of ' Española,' he thought it better to return to Cuba." *But*

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on that date Colón did not know of the existence of either of those two places !

“ This was because the Indians whom Pinzón had on board his carabela had told him that on the island of ‘ Española ’ much gold was to be found, for which they were seeking so covetously. On the 6th of January, 1493, when Colón had lost his vessel and had put to sea on board the vessel of Vicente Yañez Pinzón (the *Niña*) ‘ *he came in sight of the carabela “ Pinta,” which, with the wind on the after quarter, navigated in a westerly direction* ’; and immediately on his arriving alongside the *Niña* Martin Alonso Pinzón passed on board to see Colón, and at once commenced to feign excuses, motives and reasons for the involuntary separation ; stating that it had been entirely against his wish, and that he had been unable to avoid its happening as it did during the darkness of the night. The Admiral, although he suspected the contrary and *the wrong intentions of this man*, remembering (what he held to be) the excessive licence he had assumed and taken on many occasions during the voyage, dissimulated with Pinzón and *tolerated his lies*, so as not to break up the design and object of the enterprise, which easily could then have occurred, because the greater number of the crews were relatives, friends and countrymen of the Pinzóns, and would certainly obey and follow them ; and the facts of the matter are that when Pinzón separated his vessel from that of the Admiral it was with the intention of going to the island of ‘ Babeche,’ because the Indians on board the *Pinta* had assured him (Pinzón) that large quantities of gold could be obtained there . . . that he (Pinzón) had been some sixteen days in the river which the Admiral called ‘ rio de Gracia,’ obtaining much gold, in the same way as the Admiral had done at the ‘ Navidad ’ and of which he gave one-half to the crew of his carabela, to make sure of them, to keep them quiet and content, retaining the other half for himself ; and this being the truth of the matter he wished to make out to the Admiral that he knew nothing at all about it ! ”

So far, and in that curious manner, the son of the

THE SEPARATION OF THE VESSELS

father Discoverer : what a pity that *Pinzón* did not keep a Diary.

The partiality and bias which dislocated the reflections of the historian, Don Fernando Colón, are very apparent, from the fifteenth chapter of his *History* onwards, in which, three days after the departure of the armada from Palos, he writes : “ From the disorder and the bad fortune of the *Pinta*’s losing her rudder on two occasions at the start of the voyage, a diviner might easily conjecture and figure the want of discipline and the obstinacy shown towards the Admiral, separating from him *on two occasions through the malignity of Pinzón*, as will be narrated presently.” A proposition forgotten and lost sight of by the Admiral, for what he actually says (Cap. XXXVI.) is that on the 14th of February, 1493, “ they sailed during the night where the fortune of the moment led them : the *Pinta*, on board of which went Martin Alonso Pinzón, *because she could no further maintain her proper course*, steered to the north having the wind from the south, and the Admiral continued a north-easterly course to incline more towards Spain, *which could not be done by those of the ‘Pinta’* because of the obscurity of the night, although the Admiral’s vessel always carried a ‘ fanal ’ or lantern.”

Apparently the separation of the vessels of Colón and Pinzón on the two occasions cited—once on the outward and once on the homeward route—was beyond the control of Pinzón after all, was accidental, and not as Fernando Colón says, a malignant act, a trick.

Reserving for the moment an examination of the accusations, it will be both convenient and instructive to instance and have before us those of other authorities or writers. The famous Father Bartolomé de las Casas erroneously places the separation of the ships a month later, on the 21st of November (not of October) ; notes that in Cuba Pinzón was the most active and diligent of all in exploring the country in his neighbourhood ; and that, intending to return to Puerto Principe (Santo Domingo), but, being blinded with the desire for gold, he disobeyed “ left with his carabela, the *Pinta*, without

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Colón's licence. Perhaps he was thus filled with arrogant presumption, because one of the Indians that the Admiral had sent on board his vessel told him that he had promised and undertaken to go to a certain island or land where there was plenty of gold ; and here the Admiral says, '*otras muchas me ha hecho y dicho*' * meaning acts of treachery."

The separation of the vessels occurred during the night, and as his (Pinzón's) was much the fastest vessel of the three, it completely passed out of sight and communication, although the Admiral shortened some of his sails and displayed a light all night, and made signals for him to return and approach, but without success. On the contrary, Pinzón disappeared. The vessels reunited on the 6th of January, 1493, in the way referred to by Fernando Colón. Pinzón came towards the Admiral with the wind on his quarter ; he must have known of the proximity of the land from the Indians, and returned to give some sort of an account or explanation of the separation of the vessels. He did so, affirming that it had occurred much against his wishes, and gave the reasons, "*but the Admiral says that they were all false*, that, on the contrary, with much idea and astuteness he had allowed the vessels to separate at night intentionally ; and that he (Colón) *did not know or could not understand from whence or wherefore had come the trickery and dishonesty that Pinzón had displayed towards him during the voyage*,† which Colón wished to dissimulate so as not to give an opportunity to the Devil again to work ill, who had wished to upset the enterprise, as he had already attempted to do. . . . Presently the Admiral became aware that Martin Alonso Pinzón and some of his crew had obtained much gold, and easily, because for a small strip of leather or boot-lace they had been obtaining pieces of gold of the size of two fingers, and sometimes even as large as one's hand, of all of which gold they say that Martin Alonso Pinzón kept

* *Op. cit.*, Vol. I., cap. 47, p. 345. Fernandez Navarrete, *op. cit.*, Vol. I., p. 62.

† Fernandez Navarrete, *op. cit.*, Vol. I., p. 126.

ALLEGATIONS AGAINST THE PINZONS

or was given one-half, the other half being divided amongst his crew."

"It is here to be observed that this Martin Alonso Pinzón and his brothers were rich, and the principal people of the town of Palos. They were well connected, and had assisted at the fitting out of the armada, had been given authority and honours by the Admiral, who had made them captains; and they, of themselves, should and would be intrepid and valiant men; because riches and prosperity give courage and strength to the heart and body, even though they also blind with conceit and ambition the minds of the best of men; and the Admiral was a foreigner and without means; and they (the Pinzóns) caused and proffered him many insults and bitter deridings during the voyage; and then there was the treason which Martin Alonso Pinzón designed and performed of deserting the Admiral; and afterwards they returned to Spain, publishing many statements and saying many things which appear to be, from what I have seen of the records, very much contrary to the actual facts—to the truth" (*op. cit.*, cap. 65, p. 425). He continues, styling as false the matters implied by the questions of the Fiscal of Pinzón, of the Crown, and estimated them to have been conceived by Vicente Yañez Pinzon, the captain of the *Niña*, in which vessel Colón himself returned to Spain, having lost the *Santa María*.

The transcription or translation of such lengthy texts is very fatiguing, but in the consideration in detail of the many important points it is not convenient to run the risk of being misleading or allowing anyone to be misled by a concise and brief extract only, or by the selection of an occasional loose sentence or paragraph; it is sought, in going to such full length, to avoid omitting any important event which should have been cited, to the prejudice of a full knowledge of all the main facts, and of a correct view of the whole matter of the complaints of Colón and Pinzón.

In his relation of the occurrences the Padre de las Casas is in harmony with the foregoing, that on the night of the

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13th of February, 1493, the wind increasing in force and the seas having become alarmingly high, the vessels were allowed to run before the wind ; and the *Pinta* was lost to sight from the Admiral's vessel, "*the Admiral fearing that she might possibly have foundered.*" She was much the smaller craft.

Oviedo was either badly informed or else confounded the events, placing the separation as having taken place at the island of " Española " (Santo Domingo), after the wrecking of the " Capitana " or flagship, the *Santa Maria* ; and because of other occurrences which need not now be considered the other chroniclers of the period failed to amplify the earliest notices.

Allusion has been made to the contradictions appearing in the assertions of Fernando Colón, inasmuch as, from his own statements, and from those of the biographer of his father, Cristobal Colón, the learned Padre Bartolomé de las Casas, it is to be deduced that, navigating at night, the *Pinta* being to the windward being the better sailer, the *Admiral changed his intention and altered his course*, bearing away towards the island of Cuba. He, Colón himself, was therefore the actual cause of the separation complained about, not being unaware altogether that probably Pinzón would not be able to observe—as he did not—the light-signals Colón affirms he then gave, which were naturally very difficult to see in thick weather on small vessels.

The *Pinta*, under Pinzón, therefore continued to navigate in the direction followed by the armada during the day time, the course determined upon on the previous evening and ordered to be set by the Admiral himself. And as Pinzón had not received any order to vary it, there is not any substantial reason for blaming his judgment and action, much less to clothe his " intentions " with the offensive and puerile supposition that an Indian—whose language no one understood but the Admiral!—had promised to take him to a place where much gold was easily to be obtained cheaply ; and that pure greed and inordinate desire to grasp all he could for himself, his rela-

COLON ACCEPTS THE EXPLANATION

tives, townsmen and crew, had persuaded him deliberately to make the separation, to commit an act of overt treason to his sovereign and country. And they had not yet reached land, so where did this Indian come from ?

Pinzón was not a needy adventurer of *that* type !

In whichever way this matter is looked at no severer charge against Pinzón could reasonably be formulated than that he perhaps had not done or did not labour enough to rejoin the Admiral from the moment he found his vessel alone, or on the morning of the 22nd of October, 1492. And he even probably did so, because, as a matter of fact, in reality, *the Admiral knew the course to be steered by the "Pinta," but Pinzón did not—could not—have known that newly taken by Colón*, and could, therefore, have found him again only by mere guesswork.

With the breeze on her quarter, and steering a westerly course, on the 6th January, 1493, the *Pinta* rejoined the *Nina*, the Admiral's vessel. Pinzón explained his absence, giving his reasons. Why did Colón then accept them, apparently ? And, then, when, in his cabin, his office, with his "Diary" open before him, express his secret opinion, aggravating his previous accusations with those of liar, egotist, defrauder, of bold and impudent bearing and speech ? Why did he allow to become all too transparent that rabid fear and jealousy of Pinzón, and of the great popularity and influence he undoubtedly possessed and enjoyed with all ; that put him out of his self-control ? *The many declarations made by the returned crews contained, and now exhibited, in the lawsuits and legal processes archived in Sevilla, fortunately establish the reason !*

In spite of the erroneous proposition of the Fiscal, nobody insinuated, much less declared on oath, that the separation of Pinzon's vessel *was intentional on his part*. Arias Perez Pinzón affirmed, solemnly, that it *happened during the night*, and was unavoidably caused by the thick, heavy weather then prevailing ; other witnesses agreeing with that witness that as a result *Martin Alonso Pinzón discovered the island of Haiti, or "Española," long before the Admiral had arrived there*. Anchored in the mouth of

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the river to which his own name was given—the “ rio de Martin Alonso ”—he found samples of gold, went inland and explored the vicinity, took formal possession of and marked it in the name of his sovereign, did considerable trade with the natives by barter, became on friendly terms with them, and sent boats in search of the Admiral notifying his own successful doings. As Pinzón did not hear anything of the whereabouts of the Admiral, he himself went in search of him, and found ultimately that the “ nao ” the “ Capitana,” *Santa Maria*, had been wrecked and was lost ; gave a full account of all that he had seen, done and experienced ; and presented or offered to Colón gold of the value of 900 pesos, which the Admiral not only refused to accept,* but became angry and jealous because Pinzón had been so fortunate as to have obtained so much gold ; in consequence of which they quarrelled and remained on very bad terms with each other † ; the Admiral changed the name of the river and harbour which Pinzón had found, so that no record should remain of his association with it ; nor consented that anyone of the expedition should call it the river and port of Martin Alonso, but only that of “ Puerto de Gracia.” ‡

All the outcome of a morbid jealousy and of envy.

So far the records contained in the work of Fernandez Navarrete. The version of Oviedo§ is more or less in conformity :

“The Admiral, seeing,” he says, “that those people—the Indians of the island ‘ Española ’—were so domesticated, thought that he could quite safely and prudently venture to settle some of his crew there and so establish a colony of Christians, to colonise and to learn the language and customs of the natives, whilst he returned to

* Declaration of Francisco Garcia Vallejo. Navarrete, *op. cit.*, Vol. III., p. 573.

† Declaration of Alonso Gallego in his answer to the nineteenth question.

‡ Declaration of Diego Fernandez Colmenero, Navarrete, *op. cit.*, Vol. III., p. 577.

§ *Op. cit.*, Vol. I., p. 26.

A RECONCILIATION

Spain, . . . and as he had lost his 'nao,' the 'Capitana,' *Santa Maria*, with his crew he passed on board the *Niña*, commanded by Vicente Yañez Pinzón. But the leaving behind of some of the crews did not at all please Martin Alonso Pinzón, the captain of the other vessel, the *Pinta*, who made the very strongest objection to such a thing being attempted, and said that it would be a highly improper thing that a small body of Christians should be left alone so far from Spain, and, being a small body, correspondingly helpless amongst the Indians, for whom they could not make sufficient provision until further help returned from Spain, so that they would all be lost. And also, as to this proposition of Colón's, he made other very strong comment, at which the Admiral became very angry and vicious ; and Pinzón suspected even that they were thinking of imprisoning him, taking away his command ; and Martin Alonso incited by that suspicion, and fearing it, put to sea on his vessel the *Pinta*, and went to the 'Puerto de Gracia,' some twenty leagues distant from the last."

[Pinzón's objections were unavailing, for some forty odd were left behind, chiefly of Colón's vessel, of whom none belonged to Pinzón's district.—ED.]

"And meantime the Admiral was delayed in the work of building a fort. He then learnt from the Indians of the place to which Pinzón had gone in the other 'carabela' ; and presently the two brothers of Martin Alonso Pinzón, who were with the Admiral on the *Niña*, endeavoured to bring about a reconciliation between them, in which they succeeded. And Colón agreed to do so because of many weighty considerations, and in especial because the greater number of the crews of the *Niña* and the *Pinta*—the remaining vessels—were relatives, friends and townspeople of the Pinzón family, who were the chief people of the town they had nearly all come from. And he eventually, after much consideration, agreed to write a letter—a generous one—such as the case and circumstances required of him, and ordered that the harbour or port where Martin Alonso Pinzón had estab-

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lished himself should be called the ' Puerto de Gracia,' as it is so called to-day."

As to this latter matter Oviedo is quite incorrect, for in spite of the mandate of the Admiral, and of his having quoted that name in his official papers and sea-charts, the navigators of that epoch obstinately persisted invariably in referring to the place as the " rio de Martin Alonso." The Spaniards had a far better appreciation of this matter than the Admiral. The learned Father de las Casas also similarly expresses himself in his *Historia* (Vol. I., cap. 66, p. 430), saying : " He (Colón) arrived at the port where Martin Alonso Pinzón had been for some sixteen days, obtaining a large quantity of gold, and gave it the name of ' Puerto de Gracia ' " (whether because of that matter or of the reconciliation, it is not recorded clearly) " though that name did not adhere to it, because it was generally called—and to-day is so—the ' rio de Martin Alonso.' "

Many of the witnesses in the proceedings under review declared that they had actually been at the place, and that at the date of their declarations (from 1512 to 1540) it continued to be named the " rio de Martin Alonso." The Admiral, in another voyage afterwards, named a stretch of country in the district of Pária as the " Tierra de Gracia," but the name has not adhered to it.

Colón seems to have been very unfortunate, or very unpopular, in this particular item of colonisation—nomenclature.

To continue with Oviedo : " And the Indians who conveyed the friendly letter of Colón returned to him bringing back an answer from Martin Alonso Pinzón, and expressing his sense of gratification for the offer of renewed friendship and confidence ; and in that way they agreed that upon a certain given date Martin Alonso Pinzón with his carabela, the *Pinta*, should come from the place where he was and meet the Admiral, with the *Niña*, at ' Isabela,' in Cuba, and there, on shore, they all met together and were once again formally reconciled."

It is probable that Oviedo was badly informed as to

COLON'S ANIMOSITY

these events. Nothing is at all certain, having regard to the various declarations of the witnesses, except as regards the building of a fortified place by Colón on the “*Española*.”

Criticism discovers that the asperity and keen animosity felt and viciously displayed by Cristobal Colón towards Martin Alonso Pinzón—he even went so far as to threaten “to hang him”—from the moment of the disappearance of the *Pinta*, was probably born of the bitter reflection that, in the faster vessel of the two, Martin Alonso Pinzón was probably journeying back towards Spain with the intention of anticipating him (Colón) in the delivery to the King of the news of the Great Discovery ! He *must* have felt *very* sick at the idea even of such a blow for him : thus appropriating the glory and honours of the occasion as well as receiving the rewards of a pleased and grateful sovereign and country ; “*finjiendo mentiras*,” dissembling and deceiving with lies ! *

At the sight of the *Pinta* on the 6th of January, 1493, the keen mortification and the reflections which had so embittered his mind and thought during the two months impeded a rectification of his over-hasty judgment, by the ostensible evidence that in Pinzón had *not* existed the intention vilely ascribed to him, which nobody could have hindered or prevented him from realising if he had wished to carry it out ; his presence more and more clouded the preoccupied mind of the Admiral. The recollection of conquered obstacles and perils did not serve to reanimate and calm him, nor the certainty that the great ovation of triumph he so longed for and had counted upon would not be disputed by Pinzón ; because in that long interval he had lost his vessel—the captain’s ship ; and although not even remotely could any grave censure accrue to him for the loss in those unknown regions—of the three vessels of the armada, it was actually the *Santa Maria*, the flagship of the Admiral himself, and not either of the other two vessels, which was lost ; thus offer-

* Las Casas, op. cit. Vol. 1, cap. 64, p. 469.

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ing the suggestion that it might too well be said—as actually was said, according to the evidence contained in the proofs—“ *that by the Pinzóns Colón was taken or went to the Indies and that by the Pinzóns he was safely brought back !* ”

A close, true and exact summary of the whole matter.

Colón being in such a state of excitement, a natural cordiality, frankness and good-humour did not prevail at his interview with Martin Alonso Pinzón ; only through fear, without any confessed dissembling, Colón accepted, ostensibly, the explanations given by Pinzón, really estimating them to be, to himself, false and inadmissible. Colón then heard with chagrin that an unforeseen accident—the weather, not to say Providence—had favoured his subordinate—for such Pinzón officially was, although being *the real owner of the armada*—in taking him to a convenient port where gold was to be found in abundance, and meanwhile he himself had only been enabled to obtain bare proofs of its existence in other places—and interning himself in the interior of the island, had explored an extensive region and had collected samples of its natural productions and richness. He strongly disapproved of the taking possession and “ marking-out ” that Pinzón had made as on behalf of their Majesties of this New World—that was *his* sole prerogative—and of the act of giving his (Pinzón’s) own name to the river port he had entered, refused to receive and admit the proofs obtained by barter that Martin Alonso Pinzón very politely offered to him ; and, finally, reproved him for having embarked several Indians with the intention of taking them to Spain, ordering him to send them ashore, although he afterwards found it convenient to take some himself to Spain as proofs.

It causes astonishment, if not regret, to penetrate the real causes for the indignation which the alleged “ Diary ” of the Admiral makes manifest from the moment of his reunion and interview with Martin Alonso Pinzón.

It is somewhat curious to note that nobody but the Padre de las Casas seems ever to have seen this “ Diary.”

DISCOVERER OF ESPAÑOLA

Previously the pages of this "Diary" lauded and extolled the high spirit and intrepidity, as well as the skillfulness with which Pinzón had repaired and made good the accidents to the rudder on the high seas, enabling him to continue his journey; the activity and zeal he had displayed at the Canaries; the extreme vigilance and care he demonstrated in the "Gulf," going on in front to shield the others; the prudence and skill with which he responded at the consultations held as to the intelligence and signification of the "Chart of Toscanelli"; and, ultimately, the great interest and zeal he displayed in the forests of Cuba, searching for trees, plants, and peoples of the types known to be indigenous to Asia.

Pinzón to Colón at *that* moment was a priceless monument of skill—a wonder! Shortly afterwards Colón threatened to hang him!

Later on in this Diary he is accused of being arrogant, covetous, insubordinate, deceitful, and even ungrateful, as though Pinzón, the *owner of the vessels*, were one of the crew. From and after that interview and subsequent conferences the armada was not engaged in any further explorations in the Indies. They did nothing but make preparations for the return voyage to Spain, which was, ultimately, performed separately; and thus we see the explanation of the injuries and offences which Colón believed he had suffered at the hands of Martín Alonso Pinzón!

Thenceforward no further reference is made in the Diary to the oft-repeated accusation of desertion by Pinzón in the *Pinta*. If Colón once admitted the explanations of Pinzón, the supposed fault or error would have been satisfied and discharged. Nevertheless, by its consequences it appears that the captain of the *Pinta* was the more fortunate in the discovery of the island of "Española," and, if credit is to be given to the declarations of the witnesses, from that hour was born or originated the mortification and fear of Colón; from thence arose his strong disapprobation of the acts of marking out and formal taking possession by Pinzón, which he deemed his own prerogative as the Chief of the Armada, the Delegate

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of the Crown ; from thence, also, his rabid desire that the river named “ Martin Alonso,” by common consent of the finders and their leader, should not appear so named in any official document ; and also the order for Pinzón to disembark the Indians he had taken on board the *Pinta* with the object of taking them back with him to Spain, as Colón keenly desired that only he himself should be able to present such a substantial proof of the success of the expedition, in Spain.*

If Pinzón had been a man of tractable nature, in merely acceding to the persuasive proposition of Colón to leave to him the manner of notification to their Majesties of the favourable exit and success of the expedition without descending to unnecessary details, mutual satisfaction and congratulation would have reigned ; but, on the contrary, the determined and independent character and habit of Pinzón led him to declare without circumlocution and hesitation, with his customary bluff frankness, that, without any departure from the truth, for his part he intended to furnish a true and complete account of the voyage, in person, to their Majesties.

Quite right too. He distrusted, and with reason, the unknown foreigner Cristobal Colón.

He permitted to himself also the sensible observation that it would be exceedingly risky and inconvenient to leave a small number of the crew, with insufficient means of defence and support, so far from Spain ; an observation which—in his capacity of kinsman and friend, responsible for the inclusion of some of them in the expedition—was quite within his warranty to make ; and even though one dispensed with his personal conditions and qualities of principal sharer in the cost of the expedition—proprietor of the vessels composing it, and second in the naval command of it—it may be safely presumed that the controversies became daily more heated, and that he did not too carefully measure the full meaning and force of his word.† And these contradictions and antagonisms

* Las Casas, *op. cit.*, Vol. I., cap. 56, p. 430.

† Oviedo, *op. cit.*, Vol. I., p. 26, *supra*.

THREATS TO HANG PINZÓN

in speech between them, no doubt, led them to exceed the limits of courtesy and prudence, their mutual self-conceit causing the breaking up of the harmony and coalition which at the outset had so much assisted the successful carrying out of the venture.

The conduct of a man of the status and personal condition of Martin Alonso Pinzón towards such as Colón was absolutely natural and correct. Colón, through fear and jealousy of one, his superior, had lost his head and failed to remember his true position and personal circumstances ; he never was more than the merely nominal head of the armada, and possessed no merit or personal qualifications to be anything else.

The witness, Francisco Medel,* a native of Huelva, in the proceedings referred to, in his answer to the fourteenth question of the proofs of the Fiscal, Villalobos, taken at Sevilla on the 22nd of December, 1535 (then seventy years of age), amongst other matters, affirmed " that he himself had heard Martin Alonso Pinzón state what had actually taken place at the interview, and that the Admiral had in a violent fit of passion told him (Pinzón) *that he had a mind to hang him in the doorway*, and that he (Pinzón) had replied, '*Is that what I deserve for having placed you in the position of honour you now stand in?*' "

A spirited and manly reply, filled with the well-merited contempt he held for the needy Italian adventurer he had assisted most materially to become an Admiral of Spain!

The Genovese, or whatever he was, must have been mad with jealousy and conceit to have threatened to hang his host in his own doorway. How the listeners must have been astonished at the quite novel idea! It is not recorded whether he was going to ask—to order—his own captain (the brother, Vicente Yañez Pinzón) to do the tragic deed!

'Tis a wonder that the owners of the vessels (the Pinzóns) did not put him ashore and *leave him to his own resources* ; but apparently they were magnanimous and suffered him. To those who know a Spaniard of the type and personal conditions of Martin Alonso Pinzón, of

* Roll 2, packet 5.

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Palos, the enormous self-satisfaction and imprudence of one of the type of the needy unknown and very much obliged Genovese adventurer must have seemed very pronounced.

And now we see fairly well explained the deep agitation racking the mind of Colón when he wrote in his Diary the phrases quoted (as a matter of fact he had on board two official recorders, clerks: *he could barely write himself*); and we can understand the great change which had come about in his opinion of Pinzón, caused by these events, but not so the phrase*: "*Que no sabia de donde le hobiesen venido los soberbias á los Pinzónes, no mirando la honra que él les habia hecho y dado,*" unless it were the tremendous conceit which dictated and repeated them in treating of his return to Spain, expressing himself "that in the name of the Almighty he started on his voyage (to Spain), without any further detention, for he had found what he had sought for; because he did not wish for further quarrel with that Martin Alonso Pinzón until their Majesties had learned of the occurrences during the voyage, 'and, after, I will not suffer the doings of bad people of little rectitude who, against him who had given them so much honour, presumed to do what they liked with so little respect and consideration.' "†

Regarding the wreck of the "Capitana"—the *Santa Maria*—Colón recorded in his Diary, "*that the sea was in a dead calm and as still as a glass of water*"; afterwards he noted that the *maestre* (the master) fled in a small boat, leaving him in great danger, "because the Almighty permitted them to be guilty of such high treason"; but without taking into account that he (Colón) was treating of the actual *owner* of the vessel which had been lost—the valiant and famous navigator of later years, the Basque, Juan de la Cosa: *he* was the real "*maestre*" or master.‡

* Las Casas, *op. cit.*, cap. 66, p. 429. Navarrete, Vol. 1, p. 128.

† *Diario de Colón*, Navarrete, Vol. I., p. 130.

‡ Las Casas, *op. cit.*, cap. 59, p. 397; and cap. 60, p. 404. Fernando Colón, cap. 32. Navarrete, *op. cit.*, Vol. I., pp. 111 and 116.

COLON SPARING OF PRAISE

The Admiral is now pleased to designate the Basque as a traitor and coward, adding that "because he had brought him with him to these regions for the first time, and because he was a skilful mariner, he (Colón) had taught him the art of navigation; but that he had responded to all that by saying publicly 'that he knew more about such matters than he (Colón) did.' " *

Not being, then, in this case, a question of the Pinzóns, it indicates a repetition of the idea that Cristobal Colón estimated all those who went in the expedition to have been very much honoured because of the fact of their having been permitted to accompany him, if it does not also reveal, with great weakness in so large a mind, his distrust and fear of any division of the glory of the discovery, however insignificant the quota extended to anyone else. He invariably showed himself to be a great egotist.

One of the highest feelings of satisfaction and enjoyment possible to a great leader, on his having achieved a great triumph, consists in his delight in recommending for reward those who assisted him in its attainment; the generosity which consists in the award and praise of others and in their names the acts of valour and decision which modesty would not allow him entirely to singularise to himself. But in the Diary, destined for the eyes and reading of their Majesties, and in whose hands he eventually placed it, whilst not omitting censures, he has praise for no one—a method and class of procedure Colón observed in the succeeding voyages, to judge from the letters of his which are on record. In the last letter he signed at Jamaica (as an exception) he writes: "*These people who have come with me have passed through incredible dangers and hardship. I implore your Majesty—because they are poor people—that they presently be rewarded and paid, each one, according to his qualifications and deserts; and I certify that, in my belief, they bring to Spain far*

* Declaration of Bernardo de Ybarra, in the proof of Colón, Navarrete, *op. cit.*, Vol. III., p. 586.

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better news than ever has been brought before " * : a general request marred by another paragraph in the same letter, which has it : " Nobody can give true and exact account of this, because no person can provide the means. . . . The pilots will say if they can and know where the site of Veragua is to be found," etc.

Truly it was not at all any easy matter for anybody else than Colón to give due account of the Discovery. Pedro Mateo, one of the crew of Colón's vessel, on his second voyage, declared, "*that he wrote in a book the names of all the mountains and rivers he saw in the Province of Veragua, and that the Admiral afterwards took it.*" † And Diego Mendez declared similarly, ‡ that, " being as he was the Chief Scrivener of the Armada, he wrote down in a book, by order of the Admiral, an account of the voyage and of all that occurred during it, and set down in it the names given to the various places, which book he afterwards handed over to Cristobal Colón." Another scrivener, Diego de Porras, placed in his official record the very interesting and significant item that "*the mariners were now without their sea-charts, as the Admiral had taken them from them !*"

If, during the later voyages, Colón adopted such very singular precautions as these so that nobody but himself should be able to give exact or precise account of their discoveries, it is but reasonable to suppose that he also employed them, more or less, in the first voyage.

By a rare coincidence, bad weather having separated the two " carabelas," the *Pinta* and the *Niña*, on the return voyage, the former arrived at Bayona, near Vigo, and the other (with Colón on board) at Lisbon. On Friday, the 15th of March, 1493, within but a few hours of each other, both vessels passed the bar of Saltés and entered the harbour or port of Palos, from whence they had sailed together about seven months previously. The two principal historians of the period did not make any

* Navarrete, *op. cit.*, Vol. I., p. 310.

† Navarrete, *op. cit.*, Vol. I., p. 584.

‡ Roll 2, packet 9. Duro, *op. cit.*, p. 250-251.

THE VESSELS' RETURN

note of the circumstance, nor did they occupy themselves any further with Pinzón, relegating him and all his to oblivion and forgetfulness.

The Father Bartolomé de las Casas merely remarks* that "Martin Alonso Pinzón arrived with his vessel at Bayona, in Galicia. Natural it is to believe that he had suffered great hardship from the stormy weather, similarly as the Admiral had, and to have escaped as they did was prodigious ; and because he died in a few days it does not occur to me to say anything more about him"!

Fernando Colón,† who, by the way, was a natural son only—his mother being Beatrix Enriquez, born at Cordoba in 1488, when the father (Cristobal) was in Portugal with his wife, Felipa Muñiz, Muñoz, or Moñiz de Perestrello—wrote somewhat more lengthily about Pinzón :

"It presently happened that at the time that the Admiral arrived at Palos, Pinzón reached Galicia, and intended to go to Barcelona, where the Court then was, to give account, in person, of the events of the voyage and its successful result to their Majesties, who, however, gave him to understand that it was not to them, but to the Admiral to whom the report should be made—to him who had been sent by them to make the Voyage of Discovery ; which rebuff caused him so much pain and rabid jealousy that he went to his native town, ill, and after a few days died of dismay, anguish and disappointment ; *but before he had arrived at Palos the Admiral had already started for Sevilla with the intention of going on to Barcelona, where the Court then was.*"

Yet all the other evidence is that both vessels reached Palos on the same day !

The son seems to have been about as scrupulous as his father as to matters of fact. His account of the return of the two vessels is a deliberate and gross misstatement of the known facts.

Fernandez Navarrete,‡ curiously enough followed this

* *Op. cit.*, Vol. I., cap. 75, p. 469.

† Fernando Colón, Vol. I., cap. 41, and Vol. II., p. 8.

‡ *Op. cit.*, Vol. III., p. 140.

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very distorted version of the matter, also copied by Herrera, overlooking apparently that of Oviedo,* which is very worthy of being quoted and placed alongside the others, because it is more nearly a true version.

Oviedo has it: "Being now near to Europe, on their return, a violent storm separated the two vessels, the Admiral steering towards Lisbon, whilst Pinzón went farther north to Bayona, in Galicia. And afterwards (repairing, etc.) each vessel resumed its course to the 'rio de Saltés' [really the famous Tinto, which passes in front of Palos], and by a coincidence *arrived there on the same day*, the Admiral's vessel entering during the morning, whilst the other carabela (that of Pinzón) came to anchor there later in the same afternoon."

This had been published by Oviedo years before Fernando Colón wrote his famous history, and was known to Navarrete.

"And because he suspected, on account of the many events and of certain threats, that the Admiral might even attempt to arrest him (Pinzón) he disembarked as soon as he could and went secretly to a place of safety amongst his friends, whilst shortly afterwards the Admiral started to the Court to give his own account of the discovery. When Pinzón heard of his departure he went to his own house, and died there after a few days, being very ill and exhausted."

The distinguished modern author, the Comte de Roselly de Lorgues adopted the correct text of Oviedo—or, rather, to give him his true name, Gonzalo Fernandez de Oviedo y Valdés—with preference to that of other writers, but adorning it with the florid ornamentation of his flexible ingenuity:

"The idlers of the port of Palos," he says, "saw about noon on the 15th of March, 1493, a vessel coming up the river (Tinto) Odiel, impelled by a favourable breeze, and they were very soon able to recognise the *Niña*, proudly displaying from her masthead the insignia of the expedition, and gallantly flying the Royal Standard of Castilla.

* *Hist. Gen. y Nat.*, Vol. I., p. 27.

THE HOMECOMING

“ An explosion of intense joy was immediate from one end of the town to the other. In a moment the news of the safe return and of the marvellous discovery which had been achieved flew from the small jetty to the town. Instantly all the shops were closed, all business suspended ; cannon sounded from the fort, accompanying the joy-peals of the church bells ; the streets were bedecked with garlands and festoons and other decorations ; window-sills and balconies were filled with flowers ; whilst the whole population, *en masse*, congregated at the wharf side to gaze on the safely returned carabela. Colón soon disembarked, being received with almost the honours of royalty, and accompanied the multitude in solemn procession to the parish church, where thanks were rendered to the Maker for having so favoured the most important voyage ever executed.

“ Imagine the delirious joy of the families once again seeing those in their midst whom many had given up for lost ! Some time later in the day, and whilst the entire population of Palos was enjoying indescribable happiness and satisfaction, offering formal homage to the Admiral, and with the church bells announcing to the villages and towns of the neighbourhood the extraordinary event, there arrived at the anchorage another carabela, very well known to the people of Palos—the *Pinta*—captained by Martin Alonso Pinzón. After an instant’s delay a small boat put off from its side and proceeded down river : *’twas its captain who fled !* ”

“ Blown by the storm towards the Vizcayan Gulf, and almost persuaded that the poor *Niña* would not have been able to weather the gale, Martin Alonso Pinzón had sent [from whence ?] an account of the Discovery of the New World to their Majesties, asking, at the same time, for permission and authorisation to present himself at Court to give, in person, full account of the expedition. Waiting for the reply, he went to enjoy the triumph awaiting him, without doubt, in his own native town from his relatives and kinsfolk ; but on his arrival there, and on seeing the insignia of the Admiral floating from the masthead of the

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Niña, was confounded ; the fear of the Admiral's ordering him to be arrested and *put in irons as his right*, prompted him to avoid such a catastrophe, in a fit of rage and despair, in a shameful way. . . .”

“ Whilst the returned mariners, listened to as oracles, were lavishly regaled and feasted by their kinsmen and townsfolk, the Admiral found himself to be, in Palos, an absolute stranger—a foreigner. His ‘ brothers ’—of the seraphic order—awaited him at his old quarters, the Convent of La Rabida, and thus he returned to reoccupy the cell that had been kept reserved for him by the ‘ Father Guardian.’ . . .” *

We may omit detailed description of the penitential feast at which officiated the Father Friar Juan Perez ; the affectionate conversation of the latter with his old lodger and ward ; the reflections of Colón ; his projects for the repartition of the world, and the conquest of the Holy Sepulchre ; the reports and counsels he wrote to their Majesties, which occupied him seven days, until the moment of his starting to go to Sevilla on his way to the Court ; all these matters are elegantly referred to and described by the Comte Roselly de Lorgues ; but nothing of it is of any importance to the present matter other than the end of the chapter, thus translated :

“ Only after the departure of Colón to Sevilla *dared Martin Alonso Pinzón enter Palos*. There he received from the Court the reply he was anxiously awaiting, indicating in the severity of its phraseology the punishment of his jealousy and the humiliation of his egotism and pride ! It was the final blow to his hopes. The odiousness and rankness of his jealous spleen fired in his blood the fever which consumed his life in a few days.”

Very tragical, very typical of a Colón-Roselly de Lorgues combination, but wholly untrue !

Yet a very distinct and altogether different relation is given, fortunately for the true history of the whole matter, by many of the witnesses in the lawsuits who saw Pinzón arrive at Palos ; no fewer than *thirty-three men of Palos*

* *Christophe Colomb, op. cit.*, p. 226.

ILLNESS OF PINZON

itself, declaring on oath that they had witnessed the return of the *Pinta*, at Palos, and saw and talked with the captain, Martin Alonso Pinzón, and his crew ; listened to their narratives of the details of the remarkable voyage ; which, as was natural, was the subject of conversation in their homes, in the streets and squares, at the jetty and on all the vessels of the district : “ *so much so that nothing else was talked about.*”

Pinzón arrived home very ill indeed as a result of the great hardships and fatigues he had undergone ; and they removed him from his house to the Monastery of La Rábida, where he was visited by his relatives and many friends, deeply anxious to see him and to hear from his own lips what everybody had been recounting in the streets of Palos.*

This makes the pro-Colón version about this very simple matter of fact look rather curious and biassed. Witnesses for the Fiscal of the Crown roundly affirmed that Colón himself lodged there for several days, and that Pinzón was in hiding until after Colón's departure for Barcelona.

But the Fiscal, Villalobos, also has it *as a notorious fact* that on their return from the Indies, Colón lodged in the house of Martin Alonso Pinzón ! (*Vide* Question 22 of the Interrogatories of the 21st August, 1535.)

Whilst preparing to go to the Court Pinzón and Colón, in spite of the bad feeling existing between them, no doubt had many conferences together, as far as the state of health of the former permitted. It is to be presumed, although the witnesses do not specifically say so, that the Friar Juan Perez, or Marchena, the friend of both, who had every reason to be satisfied with the results of his efforts and assistance in the past, would most probably have mediated in those interviews, and would also have written to the Court warning it against any outside, voluntary and misleading information. The witnesses did, however, affirm and repeat that the Admiral and Pinzón disagreed as to the best manner in which to communicate

* See the declaration of Francisco Medel.

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the Discovery to their Majesties, but that nothing more tragic, as between them, happened.

At this juncture occurred the death of the unfortunate but very brave and heroic Martin Alonso Pinzón, not many days after his return, his remains being interred in the same Monastery of "La Rábida." One witness only, Juan de Quexo, a native and resident of Palos, affirmed that it took place some fifteen or twenty days after his return—that is, about the 31st of March, 1493, or early in April ; and Colón having arrived at Sevilla on the same 31st of March (Palm Sunday), according to the "Cura de los Palacios" (*Historia de los Reyes Católicos*, c. 118), it is to be deduced that he had not waited for the receipt of any communication from the Court, nor made the journey there accompanied by Pinzón. Their Majesties wrote to Colón from Barcelona under date of the 30th of March, 1493, the letter reaching him at Sevilla whilst on his way ; the King's Messenger was the bearer of another letter to Pinzón, and made known its contents, according to the declaration of Diego Rodriguez Colmenero in the proofs of Juan Martin Pinzón of the 1st of November, 1532, who affirms that "*he knew that the Queen Ysabel sent a messenger to tell Martin Alonso Pinzón to appear before her, but that when the officer reached Palos, Pinzón was dead.*"

The same witness added that "the Queen was extremely sorry to hear of it," and if credit is to be given to the affirmation of Juan Martin Pinzón, the son of Martin Alonso Pinzón, the Queen made some observations to Colón as to the share and part borne by the gallant captain of Palos in the Discovery:

It is not an unlikely conclusion from the letters of the Friar Juan Perez, of "La Rábida," and from those of Martin Alonso Pinzón, that the Court had become possessed of the facts of the matter. But it is quite certain also that in Barcelona, hearing only the statements of the Admiral, without contradiction or correction from anybody, in the flush of joy and enthusiasm all rewards seemed too trivial for those who had actually brought the

SOME RESULTS OF THE SUCCESS

intelligence and proofs—the strange Indians with their mosquito headnets, the wonderful birds, flowers and plants—in a word, everybody, Court and public, was mad with excitement.

The real owners of the *Pinta* and *Niña*, the actual authors of the expedition—the Pinzóns and their companions—were all forgotten, in their absence.

As stated by many witnesses in the lawsuits, if the heirs of Martin Alonso Pinzón, or his brothers, who occupied such important posts in the armada, had but then and there gone to the Court, Colón or no Colón, their representations, accounts and petitions would certainly have received full attention, remuneration and satisfaction. And if the unfortunate Pinzón had but lived to tell the Court in person *his* version, then undoubtedly would have been given to him by his grateful sovereigns—to the Spaniard as well as to “the reputed Genovese”—that which was most undoubtedly due to him, properly and incontestably, as the principal Discoverer of the New World in 1492.

See the Declarations of Pedro Medel and others, of Palos, in the proofs of Juan Martin Pinzón of 1532, just previously referred to.

Dealing with that presumption in any way one pleases, it cannot but be admitted, as it was by Fernandez Navarrete (*ob. cit.*, Vol. III., p. 614), that Martin Alonso Pinzón being dead the influence of the Admiral increased and dilated—as was but natural—the consequence of the successful and fortunate termination of an enterprise previously looked at with suspicion, contempt and doubt, at least, and afterwards as an event of the greatest consequence ever yet recorded in the annals of time.

There is contained in these suits and processes which we are examining the reparation of another injustice which went so far as to place a doubt as to the priority in the actual discovery of the mainland of the continent of America: the King's Fiscal denied it to the Admiral (Colón), and laboured to demonstrate—with some amount of success it must be conceded—that even if it

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were true that he did actually touch at the island of Trinidad, on his Third Voyage, he did not actually land on the continent itself until after it had been visited by Niño, de la Cosa, Vicente Yañez Pinzón, Ojeda, Bastides, and some others, but all the witnesses declared that on arriving at Paria they saw signs of Colón's having been there before them.

And although the "Autos," or records, do not offer clear and positive proof that Cristobal Colón actually disembarked on the continent, they give very full proof that he arrived at the mouth of the mighty Orinoco before anyone else, and that on that river's banks he ordered to be placed the insignia of God and the King, he himself being too ill to do so. Such, in any case, is the testimony of one of the witnesses, Hernan Perez,* conferring upon Colón, therefore, although not without some dispute, the right to the titles of Discoverer of the Islands and Mainland of the Western Indies—of the New World or of the Americas, as one may best like it styled.

Having completed, then, so prolonged a study and review of this very extraordinary history, and of the interminable series of lawsuits and unique records, in conclusion are added lists of the names and categories of many of those who accompanied Cristobal Colón and Martin Alonso Pinzón on this First Voyage of Discovery in the year A.D. 1492. Together with those previously recorded by various chroniclers we arrive at the total of eighty-seven, a figure not far removed from that given by Fernando Colón, or Ulloa ; and by the more famous Bishop of Chiapa, las Casas ; although the total given by Fernandez de Oviedo of one hundred and twenty is probably correct, judging by the size of the vessels and the necessity for full complements.

In whatever manner worthy are those so verified of good and permanent notoriety, estimation and record, and although some doubt may exist as to the particular vessel in which some of the units actually performed this

* Roll 2, packet 1. Fernandez Navarrete, *op. cit.*, Vol. III., p. 582. Vol. X., *Memorias*, p. 167.

NAMES OF THE CREWS

voyage, the following summary is to be accepted on the high authority of Fernandez Duro (*op. cit.*).

NAMES OF THOSE WHO ACCOMPANIED CRISTOBAL COLÓN ON THE EXPEDITION WHICH SAILED FROM PALOS ON FRIDAY, THE 3RD OF AUGUST, 1492, AND RETURNED TO THAT PORT ON FRIDAY, THE 15TH OF MARCH, 1493.

In the Nao "Santa Maria," or "La Capitana."

CRISTOBAL COLÓN, Captain-General.

JUAN DE LA COSA, Master.

SANCHO RUIZ, Pilot.

MAESTRE ALONSO, Apothecary or Doctor.

MAESTRE DIEGO, Boatswain.

RODRIGO SANCHEZ DE SEGOVIA, Steward.

PEDRO GUTIERREZ, Chamberlain.

RODRIGO DE ESCOBEDO, Scrivener of the Armada, of Segovia (stayed at "Española").

DIEGO DE ARANA, Chief Constable, of Segovia (stayed at "Española").

TERREROS, Supercargo, or Head Waiter.

RODRIGO DE JEREZ, of Ayamonte.

RUIZ GARCIA, of Santoña (a Basque).

RODRIGO DE ESCOBAR.

FRANCISCO DE HUELVA, of Huelva.

RUI FERNANDEZ, of Huelva.

PEDRO DE BILBAO, of Larrabezua (a Basque).

PEDRO DE VILLA, of Santoña (a Basque).

DIEGO DE SALCEDO, Colón's Clerk.

PEDRO DE ACEVEDO, Page.

LUIS DE TORRES, a Convert Jew, Interpreter.

None of them, apparently, came from Palos or Moguer, and two only from Huelva ; four of them, including the Master, were Basques ; the origin of the others is not ascertainable.

It was, it may be said, a scratch, certainly a very cosmopolitan crew ; and, apart from some of the under-

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officers, there were only *seven* handymen, or seamen. On the other hand, some of those left at "La Española," also of this vessel, were probably mariners, the four or five from Sevilla, etc. (*See the final list of those crews.*)

In the Carabela "Pinta."

MARTIN ALONSO PINZÓN, Captain, of Palos.

FRANCISCO MARTIN PINZÓN, Master, of Palos.

CRISTOBAL GARCIA XALMIENTO, Pilot.

JUAN DE JEREZ, Mariner, of Palos.

BARTOLOMÉ GARCIA, Boatswain, of Palos.

JUAN PEREZ VIZCAINO, Caulker, of Palos.

RODRIGO DE TRIANA, of Lepe. }

JUAN RODRIGUEZ BERMEJO, of Molinos. }

(These two last are thought to be one and the same person.)

JUAN DE SEVILLA, of Sevilla.

GARCIA HERNANDEZ, Apothecary or Doctor, of Palos.

GARCIA ALONSO, of Palos.

GOMEZ RASCON, of Palos.

CRISTOBAL QUINTERO, of Palos.

JUAN QUINTERO, of Palos.

DIEGO BERMUDEZ, of Palos.

JUAN BERMUDEZ, of Palos (Discoverer of the Isle of Bermuda).

FRANCISCO GARCIA GALLEGO, of Moguer.

FRANCISCO GARCIA VALLEJO, of Moguer.

PEDRO DE ARCOS, of Palos.

In the Carabela "Niña."

VICENTE YAÑEZ PINZÓN, Captain, of Palos.

JUAN NIÑO, Master, of Palos.

PERO ALONSO NIÑO, Pilot, of Moguer.

BARTOLOME ROLDÁN, Pilot, of Palos.

FRANCISCO NIÑO, of Moguer.

GUTIERREZ PERER, of Palos.

JUAN ORTIZ, of Palos.

ALONSO GUTIERREZ QUERIDO, of Palos.

THOSE LEFT AT ESPAÑOLA

THOSE WHO WERE LEFT ON THE ISLAND OF "ESPAÑOLA,"
AND WERE KILLED BY THE INDIANS, BESIDES THOSE
ALREADY NAMED OF THE "SANTA MARIA."

ALONSO VELEZ DE MENDOZA, of Sevilla.
ALVAR PEREZ DE OSORIO, of Castrojeriz.
ANTONIO DE JAEN, of Jaen.
BERNADINO DE TAPIA, of Ledesma.
CRISTOBAL DEL ALAMO, of Niebla.
CASTILLO, Silver Assayer, of Sevilla.
DIEGO GARCIA, of Jerez.
DIEGO DE TORDOYA, of Cabeza de Vaca.
DIEGO DE CAPILLA, of Almaden.
DIEGO DE TORPA.
DIEGO DE MABLES, of Mables.
DIEGO DE MENDOZA, of Guadalajara.
DIEGO DE MONTALBAN, of Jaen.
DOMINGO DE BERMEO.
FRANCISCO FERNANDEZ.
FRANCISCO DE GODOY, of Sevilla.
FRANCISCO DE ARANDA, of Aranda.
FRANCISCO DE HERNAO, of Avila.
FRANCISCO JIMENEZ, of Sevilla.
GABRIEL BARAONA, of Belmonte.
GONZALO FERNANDEZ DE SEGOVIA, of Leon.
GONZALO FERNANDEZ, of Segovia.
GUILLERMO IRES (? EYRES), of Galney (? Galway), Ire-
land !
FERNANDO DE PORCUNA, of Porcuna.
JORGE GONZALEZ, of Trigueros.
MAESTRE JUAN, Surgeon.
JUAN DE URNIGA.
JUAN DE MORCILLO, of Villanueva de la Serena.
JUAN DE CUEVA, of Castuera.
JUAN PATIÑO, of Villanueva de la Serena.
JUAN DEL BARCO, of Barco de Avila.
JUAN DE VILLAR, of Villar.
JUAN DE MENDOZA.
MARTIN DE LOGROSÁN, of Logrosán.

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PEDRO CORBACHO, of Caceres.

PEDRO DE TALAVERA, of Talavera.

PEDRO DE FORONDA.

SEBASTIAN DE MAYORGA, of Mayorga.

TALLARTE DE LAGES, of England !

TRISTAN DE SAN JORGE.

Included in the list of those unfortunates who were left behind to form the colony on the island of “*Española*,” and who were there killed by the Indians, are the names of two Englishmen, a *Guillermo* (William) *Ires* (? Eyres or Ayers), of “*Galney*” (? Galway), *Irlanda* (Ireland), and one *Tallarte de Lages*, of *Ynglaterra* (England).

Whilst the officials and crew of the *Santa Maria*, in which went Colón, and those, too, who were left to colonise on the island of “*Española*,” were nearly all strangers to the district of Palos and Moguer—these two towns are quite close together near to the bank of the same river, the famous Tinto—those of the other two vessels, in which went the Pinzóns, were almost all of them from that locality ; and herein existed a reason for the want of order and discipline amongst the crew of the Admiral’s vessel. They were almost all of them strangers and foreigners to him and to the district, and most probably to one another ; whilst the crews of the *Pinta* and the *Niña* were almost family parties, probably nearly all related to one another. In the first case they were apparently, with few exceptions, what sailors term “*land-lubbers*,” whilst those under the Pinzóns were all sea-faring folk, and most undoubtedly and naturally had unlimited faith in their leaders and a natural and mutual confidence in themselves and in each other, begotten by their occupations—many of them had already, and more than once, made the journey with the Pinzóns as far as the Azores.

Having gone through the history of the facts as contained in the hitherto unpublished records of the “*Archivo de las Indias*,” of Sevilla, in our language, one can only affirm that Humanity can never feel or display too much

THE TWO MEN COMPARED

gratitude and admiration for those who tore away the veil which had hitherto hidden the one-half of our world in a dense obscurity ; and one is inclined to discuss and to reflect that “ if Providence who with weight and measure ordiates the movement of the astral spheres,” and, as has been maintained, “ predestined the Italian, Cristobal Colón, to carry out this work,” the same Providence surely also led him to the small town of Palos in an obscure corner of this great Peninsula, bringing him into contact with another, the very necessary “ human ” means required for the realisation of this portentous discovery, a competent person with sufficient material conditions, ample nautical skill and personal characteristics of value.

Martin Alonso Pinzón, who undoubtedly was such—the “ Señorito,” the Squire of Palos, rich, highly considered, regarded with esteem and affection by his neighbours, friends, and countrymen—fits out the necessary armada, coming with the material aid of the contents of his pockets to counterbalance the declared penury of the promoter ; with his great personal influence manning the necessary vessels, giving two of his own ; removes all difficulties ; dissipates doubts and fears ; and, with the undeniable influence of his impetuous energy and pronounced capability, brings together into the expedition relatives and friends, pilots, skilled mariners and officers, more than sufficient completely to man the armada with competence and efficiency.

Far superior to the Italian in the practice of the Art of Navigation, well versed in natural law, he promptly and skilfully repairs breakdowns and accidents to the outfit when at sea ; observes certain indications of the clouds, winds and currents at a critical period ; with geniality and without waste of words reaches the hearts of his companions, who all confide in him, and animates and stimulates them all when bowed by dismay and fear. Nor did he alienate the affections of his followers by unwarranted and insufferable harshness and threats.

This man, Martin Alonso Pinzón, sees—first of them

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all, according to some—the coveted mysterious land of the West ; enters the depths of its forests to discover the secrets of its productions and of its wealth ; makes friends with the natives ; again repairs the vessels, and provides for the loss of their flagship, bringing safely the Chief of the Expedition at length to the actual place of their departure with the never-failing crown of glory he himself had caused to be fashioned ; fusing his own audacity, valour, generosity, frankness and disinterestedness with the tenacity, dissimulation, and cunning of the foreign adventurer, the pseudo-Genovese Cristobal Colón.

Almost in a providential manner has at length issued from the dust of the “ Archivo de las Indias,” too long unknown to the World of Letters, History and Science, the valuable and splendid records of the actual facts, which clamour for the proper reparation and due recognition due to the Mariner of Palos—even though that should be at the expense of some of the glory which has all too plentifully and wrongly been given exclusively to Colón ; and showing us also how, when and where he died, and the site in which were interred his mortal remains in Palos.

The Emperor Charles V. commenced this work of rehabilitation, according to the Royal Order issued at Barcelona on the 23rd of September, 1519, in ordering that the descendants of the brothers Pinzón “ *in order that perpetual memory of them should exist*, that they might use in their homes and on their banners as a coat-of-arms, the figures of three ships, *au naturel*, at sea, and that from the prow of each of them should extend a hand as though pointing to the first *land which they had discovered*, and in the orla of the shield hearts and anchors.”

Its legend was to be :

Á CASTILLA Y A LEÓN
NUEVO MUNDO DIÓ PINZÓN.

But this merely private satisfaction, however it might appeal to personal vanity, does not go far to satisfy the

HONOUR TO WHOM HONOUR IS DUE

national obligation of Spain and of the world. Nor has it uprooted the prejudice which was the fruit of malice ; and one cannot discover that the present or late representatives of the Duke of Veragua, as Colón was, have ever done anything in the direction indicated by Charles V.

Proper and decorous be it that in the " Fasti " of history, of historical geography, the names of Pinzón and Colón should appear indissolubly united and coupled ; and fair and honourable would it also be that the monuments and statues which the world at large has raised to the honour of the " First Admiral of the Indies," Cristobal Colón, should have as companion the figure of the heroic captain of the carabela *Pinta*, Martin Alonso Pinzón, with extended arm and hopeful expression and gesture, as if saying to his disheartened leader and his followers : "*Adelante, adelante !*"—" Forwards, forwards ! "

For he was a very gallant captain !

It is not now probable that the history of the inside dealings and agreements between Colón and Pinzón before the voyage will ever be brought to light, nor any further record of the last days of this heroic mariner and discoverer ; nor why he and his heirs failed to make any formal claim to the Crown until so late as A.D. 1532. At any rate, the present Pinzón family affirm that, as far as they know, none now exist. It is also very doubtful if the " Archivo de las Indias " contains anything of additional value ; yet one would almost still hope that something may yet be found, either at Sevilla or in the enormous Archive of Simancas, the better to enable a somewhat tardy act of justice to be performed to the memory of the man, Martin Alonso Pinzón, who, in A.D. 1492, actually enabled the pseudo-Genovese to bring his expedition to a successful conclusion, which he had undoubtedly projected on the information and data handed to him by the almost unknown and completely forgotten Pilot of Huelva, Manuel Alonso Sanchez.

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APPENDIX I

The actual text of the work of the Inca, Garci Laso de la Vega referred to, is as follows :—

“CAP. III. COMO SE DESCUBRIÓ EL NUEVO MUNDO.

“Cerca del año de mil y quatrocientos y ochenta y quatro, uno mas, o menos, un Piloto, natural de la villa de Huelva, en el Condado de Niebla, llamado Alonso Sanchez de Huelva, tenia un Navio pequeño, con el qual contratava por la Mar, y llevaba de España á las Canarias, algunas mercaderias, que alli se le vendian bien ; y de las Canarias cargaba de los frutos de aquellas Islas, y las llevaba á la Isla de la Madera, y de allí se bolvia á España, cargado de azucar, y conservas. Andando en esta su triangular contratación, atrevesando de las Canarias á la Isla de la Madera, le dió un temporal tan recio, y tempestuoso, que no pudiendo resistirle, se dejó llevar de la tormenta, y corrió veinte y ocho ó veinte y nueve dias, sin saber por donde, ni á donde ; porque en todo este tiempo, no pudo tomar el altura, por el Sol, ni por Norte.

“Padecieron los de el Navio grandisimo trabajo en la tormenta, porque ni les dejava comer, ni dormir ; al cabo de este largo tiempo se aplacó el viento, y se hallaron cerca de una Isla ; no se sabe de cierto qual fué, mas de que se sospecha, que fué la que aora llaman Santo Domingo ; y es de mucha consideracion, que el viento que con tanta violencia, y tormenta llevó aquel Navio, no pudo ser otro, sino el Solano, que llaman

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Leste, por que la Isla de Santo Domingo está al Poniente de las Canarias ; el qual viento en aquel viaje, antes aplaca las tormentas, que las levanta. Mas el Señor todo poderoso, quando quiere hacer misericordias, saca las mas mysteriosas, y necesarias, de causas contrarias ; como sacó el agua, del pedernal, y la vista del ciego, del Lodo, que le puso en los ojos, para que notoriamente se muestren ser obras de la miseracion, y bondad Divina, que tambien usó desta su piedad, para enbiar su Evangelio, y luz verdadera á todo el Nuevo Mundo, que tanta necesidad tenia della : pues vivian, ó por mejor decir, perescian en las Tinieblas de la Gentilidad, é Idolitaria, tan barbara, y bestial, como en el discurso de la Historia verémos.

“ El Piloto saltó en tierra, tomo el altura, y escribió por menudo todo lo que vió, y lo que le sucedió por la Mar, á ida, y á buelta ; y aviendo tomado agua, y leña, se bolvió á tiento, sin saber el viaje tampoco á la venida, como á la ida ; por lo qual gastó mas tiempo del que le convenia ; y por la dilacion del camino, les faltó el agua, y el bastimiento ; de cuya causa, y por el mucho trabajo, que á ida, y venida avian padecido, empezaron á enfermar, y morir de tal manera, que de diez y siete hombres, que salieron de España, no llegaron á la Tercera (Islands), mas de cinco, y entre ellos el Piloto Alonso Sanchez de Huelva. Fueron á parar á casa del Famoso Christoval Colón, Genovés, porque supieron que era gran Piloto, y Cosmographo, y que hacía Cartas de marear. El qual los recibió con mucho amor, y les hizo todo regalo, por saber cosas acaescidas en tan estraño, y largo naufragio, como el que decian aver padecido. Y como llegaron tan descaecidos del trabajo pasado, por mucho que Christoval Colón les regaló, no pudieron bolver en si, y murieron todos en su casa, dejandole en herencia los trabajos que les causaron la muerte : los quales acepto el gran Colón con tanto animo, y esfuerzo, que aviendo sufrido otros tan grandes, y aun mayores (pues duraron mas tiempo) salió con la empresa de dar el Nuevo Mundo, y sus riquezas á

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España, como lo puso por blason en sus Armas, diciendo:
“ *A Castilla, y á Leon, Nuevo Mundo dió Colón.*”

“ Quien quisiere vér las grandes hazañas deste varon, vea la *Historia General de las Indias*, que Francisco Lopez de Gomara escribió [in 1554.—Ed.], que allí las hallará, aunque abreviadas. Pero lo que mas loa, y engrandesce á este Famoso sobre los Famosos, es la misma obra de esta Conquista, y Descubrimiento. Yo quise añadir esto poco, que faltó de la Relacion de aquel Antiguo Historiador, que como escribió lejós de donde acaecieron estas cosas, y la Relacion se la davan yentes, y venientes, le digeron muchas cosas de las que pasaron, pero imperfectas, y yo las oí en mi Tierra, á mi Padre, y á sus contemporaneos, que en aquellos tiempos la mayor, y mas ordinaria conversacion que tenian, era repetir las cosas mas hazañosas, y notables, que en sus Conquistas avian acaescido : donde contavan lo que hemos dicho, y otras, que adelante dirémos, que cumo alcanzaron á muchos de los primeros Descubridores, y Conquistadores del Nuevo Mundo, huvieron dellos la entera relacion de semejantes cosas, y yo, como digo, los oí á mis maiores (aunque como muchacho) con poca atencion, que si entonces la tuviera, pudiera aora escribir otras muchas cosas de grande admiracion, necesarias en esta Historia : diré las que hubiere guardado la memoria, con dolor de las que ha perdido. El muy R.F. Joseph de Acosta toca tambien esta Historia del Descubrimiento del Nuevo Mundo, con pena de no poderla dar entera, que tambien faltó á su Paternidad parte de la Relacion en este paso, como en otros mas modernos, porque se avian acabado yá los Conquistadores antiguos, quando su Paternidad pasó á aquellas partes, sobre lo qual dice estas palabras. Libro decimo, capitulo diez y nueve : Aviendo mostrado, que no lleva camino pensar, que los primeros moradores de Indias, ayan venido á ellos con navegacion, hecha para esse fin, bien se sigue, que se vinieron por Mar, ayo sido á caso, y por fuerza de tormentas el aver llegado á Indias ; lo qual, por inmenso que sea el Mar Oceano, no es cosa

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increible. Porque pues así suscedió en el Descubrimiento de nuestros tiempos, quando aquel Marinero (cuyo nombre aun no sabemos, para que negocio tan grande no se attribuya á otro Autor, sino á Dios) aviendo por un terrible, y importuno temporal, reconocido el Nuevo Mundo, dejó por paga del buen hospedaje á Christoval Colón, la noticia de cosa tan grande. Así pudo ser, etc. Hasta aqui es del P.M. Acosta, sacado á la letra : donde muestra aver hallado su Paternidad en el Perú, parte de nuestra Relacion, y aunque no toda, pero lo mas esencial della. Este fué el primer principio, y origen del Descubrimiento del Nuevo Mundo, de la qual grandeza podia loarse la pequeña Villa de Huelva, que tal hijo crió, de cuya Relacion certificado Christoval Colón, insistió tanto en su demanda, prometiendo cosas nunca vistas, ni oidas, guardando como hombre prudente el secreto dellas, aunque debajo de confianza, dió cuenta dellas, á algunas personas de mucha autoridad, acerca de los Reyes Catolicos, que le ayudaron á salir con su empresa, que si no fuera por esta noticia que Alonso Sanchez de Huelva le dió, no pudiera de sola su imaginacion de Cosmographia prometer tanto, y tan certificado, como prometió, ni salir tan presto con la empresa del Descubrimiento ; pues segun aquel autor, no tardó Colón mas de sesenta y ocho dias en el viaje hasta la Isla de Guanatianico, con detenerse algunos dias en la Gomera, á tomar refresco, que si no supiera por la Relacion de Alonso Sanchez que rumbos avia de tomar, en un Mar tan grande, era casi milagro aver ido allá en tan breve tiempo.”—(*Op. cit.*, pp. 3-4, lib. i. cap. iii.)

Such is the simple narrative which Irving estimated as “*a weighty charge of fraud and imposture,*” (*it is !*), repeated more or less entirely in the works of many writers and authorities of the sixteenth century, and written comparatively a short time only after the epoch of this much discussed “Discovery.” It merits some serious consideration, and general credit, for that “Discovery” undoubtedly happened just as the worthy

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Inca Garcilaso de la Vega describes it ; and Gomara, styled by Irving as the “inventor” of the idle rumour was quite right and correct in his record *á pesar de Irving !!*

A reasonable translation of it is as follows :

“ In or about the year 1484 A.D. a Pilot named Alonso Sanchez, a native of the city of Huelva, in the Condado de Niebla, was proprietor of a small sailing vessel with which he traded from Huelva and Cadiz to the Canary and Madeira Islands, where he sold merchandise on advantageous terms, bringing back in return sugar, fruit and preserves.

“ Whilst engaged in this occupation and triangular route, and whilst voyaging between the Canaries and the Madeiras, he was overtaken by an unusually violent tempest, which, unable to resist, and, like a prudent mariner and pilot, he let govern his craft, and fled before the wind [apparently a ‘Levante’] for the space of twenty-eight or twenty-nine days without knowing in which direction he was being driven, because in all that time he was quite unable to take any observations to be able to determine his whereabouts.

“ Because of the tempestuous weather they all suffered the most dreadful privations and hardships, as they were unable to obtain the needful repose and proper food ; at the end of that long period the bad weather ceased, and they found themselves near to an island ; it is not quite certain which it was, only that it was thought to be that which is now called ‘Santo Domingo’ [Hayti]. . .

“ The Pilot [Alonso Sanchez] landed, and took observations, and made detailed note of all he had seen and experienced during the voyage ; and, after having taken in stocks of firewood and water, re-embarked and started on his return voyage without being at all certain of the route—possessing no certain knowledge of that he had come by ; for which reason he spent a longer time than was convenient ; and because of the protracted voyage, he ran short of water and supplies ; for which reason,

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and for the great hardships they underwent, they all commenced to fall ill and die, to such an extent that of the seventeen of them who started from Spain only five of them—including the Pilot, Alonso Sanchez, reached the ‘Terceras,’ or Madeiras. They went to the house of the Genovese, Cristobal Colón, for assistance, whom they knew of as a Pilot and Chartographer, there established, and who issued *Cartas de marear*—sea charts ; and who received them with much kindness, and paid them every attention when he heard of the great fatigues and hardships they had suffered on their long voyage.

“ And as they arrived so exhausted and ill from the effects of their adventure, in spite of all his attentions they failed to recover, and died, in his house, leaving as an heritage their labours—what they had learnt—the cause of their death : which legacy Colón accepted, willingly, and, having himself also suffered similar experiences and hardships, even greater ones—for they extended over a much longer period—carried out his enterprise to give the New World and its riches to Spain, as is recorded on his arms : ‘ *A Castilla y á León, Nuevo Mundo dió Colón.*’

“ Those who might wish to know of the great adventures of this personage should read the *Historia General de las Indias*, by Francisco Lopez de Gomara (written in 1554), wherein they will find them recounted, although somewhat abbreviated. . . . I would wish to add this little to that account of these matters by that ancient Historian, because, as he wrote far removed from where the occurrences took place, and the accounts were given to him by various travellers, he narrated many of the events but imperfectly ; and I heard them in my own country from my father and his contemporaries ; and that in those days the principal and most ordinary subject of conversation was the repetition of the most notable and extraordinary events which had occurred : when they spoke of what has been mentioned by me, and of other matters which later on I will mention, and

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which, as they became known to many of the First Discoverers and ‘Conquistadores del Nuevo Mundo,’ they acquired full account and detail of such matters ; and I, as I have said already, heard them related by my elders (although yet a lad), with little attention, so that, if I then had paid more, I should now be able to write of many other circumstances of consequence necessary to this History. . . .

“The Very Reverend Padre Joseph de Acosta also mentions this History of the Discovery of the New World, regretting that he was unable to do so completely . . . that the first occupiers of the Indies arrived there by sea, and by accident and by the force of a tempest . . . not an incredible circumstance. Because that happened in the Discovery of our own times, when that mariner (whose name we do not know) . . . having by means of a terrible tempest found the New World, *left, in payment of the hospitality he had received, to Cristobal Colón, the information about such a tremendous matter.*

“So far the Father Acosta, wherein he demonstrates that he had heard in Peru part of my own *Relación* and even, although not all of it, the more essential matter of it. . . This was the first step and origin of the Discovery of the New World, of the greatness of which event the small city of Huelva can well be proud for having given such a son ; of which certified relation and account Cristobal Colón insisted upon so much in his demands and representations, promising things until then never seen—nor heard of—guarding, as a prudent man, the secret of them, although, under confidence, he gave account of them to certain persons of authority at Court, who, therefore, assisted him to get his enterprise accepted ; that if it had not been for the information supplied him by Alonso Sanchez, Colón could not possibly, merely as a chartographer, promise so much and with so much confidence and certainty of success, as he did ; nor so soon carry out his voyage of Discovery, because, according to that author, Colón

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spent only sixty-eight days in voyaging to the Island of 'Guanatianico,' and having stayed several days at Gomera, to refit, if he had not known from the *Relación* of Alonso Sanchez, the route he required to take," etc.

PROBANZA QUE HIZO JUAN MARTIN PINZÓN.

En la villa de Palos en primero del mes de noviembre del año de mill e quinientos e treinta e dos años ante el muy noble Señor Diego Prieto alcalde mayor en esta dicha villa por el muy ilustre señor duque de Medina Sidonia, mi señor, e en presencia de mí, Alonso Hernandez de Sanabria, escribano publico desta villa pareció Juan Martin Pinzón vecino de la villa de Huelva e presentó un escrito de pedimiento inserto ciertas preguntas formadas del licenciado Lozano segund por el pareció e pidió el dicho señor alcalde mayor segund como en ello se contiene su tenor del que es este que se sigue, de que fueron presentes Pedro Hernandez de Salmenero e Diego Hernández, su padre, vecinos desta dicha villa de Palos.

Muy noble señor :

Juan Martin Pinzón, vecino de Huelva, digo que yo tengo necesidad de hacer cierta probanza sobre ciertos servicios en esta corona real de los Reys católicos e á la Corona real destos reinos que en tiempo del Rey católico de gloriosa memoria hizo mi padre Martin Alonso Pinzón ya difunto, vecino que fué desta villa de Palos para suplicar á su majestad los mande remunerar e para lo que más me convenga e pido á su merced que me tome e resciba á los testigos que le presentaré e los pregunte so cargo del juramento por las preguntas siguientes :

"j.—Lo primero, si conocieron á Martin Alonso Pinzón ya difunto, vecino e natural que fué desta villa de Palos e á Maria Alvarez su legitima mujer, los cuales moraban en la Calle de Nuestra Señora de la Rabida e si saben que el dicho Martin Alonso Pinzón e la dicha Maria Alvarez

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su mujer fueron casados y velados según ordena la santa madre iglesia, e constante su matrimonio hobieron e procrearon por su hijo legitimo e natural á Juan Martin Pinzón que agora vive en la villa de Huelva en tal posesión, fueron habidos e tenidos e comunmente reputados e los es tal dicho Juan Martin Pinzón."

Declararon todos los testigos en conformidad con la pregunta.

Note : The witnesses referred to were :

1. Pedro Arias, de edad de 68 años.
2. Rodrigo Prieto, el viejo, de 75.
3. Pedro Medel, de 55.
4. Pedro Ambrosio Alonso, de 70.
5. Bartolomé Martin de la Donosa, de 65.
6. Diego Rodriguez Colmenero, de 65.
7. Alonso Velez Allid, de 70.
8. Hernando de Villareal, de 65.

ij.—“ *Lo segundo si saben, etc., quel dicho Martin Alonso Pinzón era hombre que sabia mucho de las cosas de la mar e de la navegacion e era piloto e sabio mucho en el navegar e trabajó de descubrir las indias e tierras del mar oceano e para mejor saber e tener noticia dellos fué á Roma para sacar del mapa mundy del papa todas las regiones e provincias e que ansi lo traxo todo sacado, lo cual se tomó aviso e fueron instrutos para la navegacion de las dichas indias e tierras del mar océano, lo cual hizo á su costa, e ansi fué notorio."*

PEDRO ARIAS.—Dijo que Martin Alonso sabia las cosas de la mar e de la navegacion mejor que otro, era piloto, y sabio en mucha manera ; fué publico que por mejor saber fué á Roma, y este testigo le vido ir, para saber del mapa mundo del Papa, e que ansi lo trujo sabido, e que lo hizo á su costa y fué notorio.

RODRIGO PRIETO.—Sabe que Martin Alonso Pinzón fué á Roma e que era hombre sabio, piloto, e hombre para mucho.

PEDRO DE MEDEL.—Sabe e vido que Pinzón era hombre que sabia mucho de las cosas de la mar e era piloto e

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sabia en el arte de navegar e que le vido en un barco suyo e oyó decir en la villa que trataba de ir á las indias a las descubrir.

PEDRO ALONSO AMBROSIO.—Conoció á Martin Alonso Pinzón, que era hombre sabio ; fué á Roma á su costa en su barco cargado de sardina, e trajo sacado del mapa mundo del Papa e de un libro, avisos para saber la navegacion de las indias.

Bartolomé Martin de la Donosa, Diego Rodriguez Colmenero, y Hernando de Villareal, dicen lo mismo. Alonso Velez Allid, confirmando el saber de Pinzón, sabe que fué á Roma, pero ignora lo demas.

“ iij.—*Lo tercero si saben, etc., quel Almirante Cristóbal Colón informado del saber e ispirencia del dicho Martin Alonso Pinzón, en el año de mill e quatrocientos e noventa e dos años vino á la villa de Palos en busca del dicho Martin Alonso para que le istruyese e navegase con él en recuesta de las dichas indias e tierras e islas del mar océano e quando llegó á la dicha villa de Palos halló quel dicho Martin Alonso era ido á Roma á lo susodicho en la presente pregunta e le esperó alli hasta que vino de Roma el dicho Martin Alonso e traxo la istrucción de la navegacion para lo susodicho e traxo libro dello, el qual dicho Almirante posó en el monasterio de la Rábida, do estuvo sin entender en cosa alguna hasta la venida del dicho Martin Alonso.*”

PEDRO ARIAS.—Sabe lo de la pregunta como en ella se contiene, y que el Almirante estaba muy pobre y los frailes del monasterio lo sustentaban.

RODRIGO PRIETO.—Que Cristobal Colon vino á esta villa con una provision de Sus Altezas para ir á las indias e estuvo en el monasterio de la Rábida muchos dias y trabajaba de hacer su armada y no hallaba gente y que se concertó con Martin Alonso Pinzón y hicieron su convenencia y si no se juntase con él hubiera harto que hacer en hacer el Armada, porque no hallaba gente y como el dicho Martin Alonso era emparentado y sabio, tenia muchos parientes hombres de la mar, e como vieron que iba él con el armada, por su amor fueron.

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PEDRO DE MEDEL.—Que oyó lo contenido en la pregunta, y era publico.

Pedro Alonso Ambrosio, Bartolomé Martin de la Donosa, Pedro Rodriguez Colmenero, y Hernando de Villareal, saben la pregunta como en ella se contiene.

ALONSO VELEZ ALLID.—Vido que el Almirante estuvo en Palos mucho tiempo publicando el descubrimiento de las indias e posó en el monasterio de la Rabida e comunicaba la negociacion del descubrir con fraile-astrólogo que ende estaba en el convento por guardian e asi mesmo con un fray Juan que habia servido siendo mozo á la reina doña Isabel católica en oficio de Contadores el que sabida la negociacion fué al Real de Granada donde estaban entonces los Reys católicos e alli comunicó la cosa con Sus Altezas en tal manera que mandaron llamar al almirante e alli se dió asiento como fuese el dicho almirante á descubrir e con este asiento el dicho almirante se volvió á la villa de Palos para seguir el dicho viaje y como la tierra era no oida ni sabida, no hallaba gente que fuese con él y en este tiempo sabe e vido este testigo que Martin Alonso Pinzón por servir á Sus Altezas y por dar favor al Almirante, como hombre que era rico e tenia bien, determinó de ir á acompañar al Almirante y llevó consigo á Vicente Yañez e á Francisco Martin Pinzón sus hermanos, y visto como estos iban con él, otros muchos hombres de bien, amigos e parientes siguieron, por manera que se amaron tres navios en que fueron el dicho viaje.

“ iiii.—Lo cuarto, si saben, etc., que venido el dicho Martin Alonso Pinzón de Roma con el dicho recabdo, el dicho almirante Colón se vino á su casa del dicho Martin Alonso e alli se informó e instruyó de la navegacion e le dió los avisos necesarios para descubrir las dichas indias, e hizo quel dicho almirante fuese á la Corte de los Reys Católicos el rey don Fernando e reina doña Isabel, de gloriosa memoria, á hacer relacion de lo suso dicho, para que por mandado de sus Altezas se navegase e hiciese armada, e dió dineros al dicho Almirante para la dicha negociación, porque el dicho Almirante estaba con mucha

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necesidad e ansi por el aviso y industria del dicho Martin Alonso Pinzón se proveyó de hacer la primera armada que se hizo."

PEDRO ARIAS.—Cree que el almirante se informó e instruyó de Martin Alonso Pinzón en la navegacion de las indias y que el dicho Pinzon hizo que el Almirante fuese á la Corte e hizo relacion de lo suso dicho para que por mandado de sus Altezas se hiciese armada e navegase, e dió dinero al dicho almirante, los cuales le trujo Diego Prieto, vecino desta villa, para la negociacion por asiento e que el dicho almirante estaba con mucha necesidad, e que por el aviso e industria de Pinzón se proveyó de hacer la primera armada que salió desta villa de Palos.

RODRIGO PRIETO.—Sabe e vido que Martin Alonso Pinzón entró en la armada, e como el entró hobo aparejo con sus deudos y parientes para hacer fin en el armada, como se hizo, e que si no entrára que fuera mala de hacer, porque el almirante no hallaba gente que fuese con él, ni la hallara, y que en ello el dicho Martin Alonso hizo mucho servicio á sus Altezas en seguir el dicho viaje, e que si por él no fuera que estoviera que hacer si el dicho viaje se siguiera, e esto lo vido, e dicho almirante estaba necesitado y probe e no tenia posibilidad, e que los frailes lo proveían en el monesterio de la Rabida.

PEDRO DE MEDEL.—Que cuando Martin Alonso Pinzón vino de Roma fué el almirante á la Corte con mucha necesidad y que volvió próspero y con poderes de los Reyes Catolicos para hacer armada para ir á descubrir las indias y que el dicho almirante tenia necesidad, y él y el dicho Martin Alonso se confederaron para hacer el armada y este testigo lo vido.

Pedro Alonso Ambrosio, Bartolome Martin de la Donosa, Diego Rodriguez Colmenero, Alonso Velez Allid, y Hernando de Villareal saben la pregunta como en ella se contiene y contestan de conformidad.

"v.—Lo quinto, si saben, etc., quen tanto quel dicho Cristobal Colón almirante fué á hacer relacion á Sus

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Altezas de lo susodicho, dicho Martin Alonso Pinzón concertó el armada e armó en este puerto de la villa de Palos para ir á las dichas indias tres ó cuatro navios todos con sus parientes e amigos e familiares porque otros no osaban entrar en la dicha Armada salvo aquellos con quien el dicho Martin Alonso tenia debdo e amistad e confiaban en él, porque otros por la incertinidad que les parecia que habia en el peligro e no querían ir, ansi lo trabajó e gastó todo lo que tenia e sirvió mucho á Sus Altezas en ello, e que el dicho Almirante á la sazón no tenia posibilidad para la dicha armada ni la hiciera, e ansi es notorio, si no interviniera el dicho Martin Alonso Pinzón."

PEDRO ARIAS.—Vido que Martin Alonso concertó armar y armó los navios contenidos en la pregunta con sus deudos y parientes y familiares porque otros no osaban entrar en la armada salvo ellos, porque les parecia que habia peligro y trabajo, y que prestó cuanto tenia y que este testigo fue rogado por el dicho Martin Alonso Pinzón que fuese con él e que no quiso ir por ser cosa incierta al presente e otros muchos hicieron lo mismo e que sabe que el dicho Martin Alonso trabajó mucho e escribió á Sus Altezas en ello e que sabe e vido que el Almirante á la sazón no tenia posibilidad para la dicha Armada, y es notorio que no la hiciera si no interviniera el dicho Martin Alonso.

PEDRO DE MEDEL.—Sabe e vido que Martin Alonso hizo la Armada con sus deudos y parientes, animando los sus familiares, porque otros no osaban ir. En este puerto de Palos adereszó los navios e gastó sus bienes por servicio de Sus Altezas, e si por él no fuera, las indias no se descubrieran, porque todos huían de ir con el almirante, y esto es publico y notorio.

PEDRO ALONSO AMBROSIO.—Vido que Martin Alonso Pinzón armó los navios con sus parientes y familiares que le querian mucho e confiaban en él y trabajó y gastó las maravedis que tenia en ello, e sabe este testigo que el Almirante estaba muy necesitado e los frailes de la Rábida le proveían de comer e no tenia posibilidad para

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la dicha Armada si no fuera e interviniera en ella el dicho Martin Alonso Pinzón.

Los otros testigos confirman.

“vj.—*Lo sesto, si saben, etc., que concertada e fecha la dicha armada por el dicho Martin Alonso, la cual no se hiciera sino fuera por él, e el dicho almirante venido de la Corte él e dando y gastando el dicho Martin Alonso de lo suyo navegaron e proscribiendo por su navegacion, y en el golfo el dicho almirante se queria volver e ansi procuró que todos se volviesen e el dicho Martin Alonso Pinzón no quiso e continuó su navegacion y dexaba el dicho almirante, el que despues que vido navegar el dicho Martin Alonso se juntó con él, e ansi el dicho Martin Alonso amonestando á todos que Armada de tan altos principes no habia de volver atras, los animó e hizo navegar con ciertos peligros e hambres e necesidades e hizo mudar la derrota, de cuya cabsa se hallaron las indias.*”

PEDRO DE MEDEL.—Que lo oyó decir á los que vinieron en el viaje, y que el descubrimiento no se hiciera si no fuera por Martin Alonso Pinzón : que en el golfo el almirante se quiso volver e ansi lo procuró que todos se volviesen y que Martin Alonso no quiso, sino continuó su navegacion e dejaba al almirante, el que despues que vido que el dicho Martin Alonso iba navegando, se juntó con él e el dicho Martin Alonso amonestando e animando á todos y diciendo que armada de tan altos principes no habia de volver atrás, los animó e hizo navegar con mucho peligro e hambre, e hizo mudar la derrota, de cuya cabsa se hallaron las indias, y esto lo oyó y se decia publicamente en la villa.

ALONSO VELEZ ALLID.—Que lo que sabe es que Martin Alonso Pinzón llevó aviso de Pedro Vazquez de la Frontera, que habia ido á descubrir esta tierra con un infante de Portugal y decia que por cierto la habian errado y se habian engañado por las yerbas que habian hallado en el golfo de la mar y dijo al dicho Martin Alonso que cuando llegasen á las dichas yerbas y el almirante quisiera volverse de alli que no lo consintiese salvo que siguiesen la via derecha, porque era imposible

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el no dar en la tierra y de necesidad lo habian de hacer porque el dicho infante de Portugal por no hacerlo erró la dicha tierra y no llegó allá, y despues de venidos el dicho Martin Alonso y el dicho Colón de viaje, se dijo por cosa cierta que dicho almirante cuando llegó á las dichas yerbas se quisiera volver, y Martin Alonso por razon del aviso que llevaba no lo consintió y dijo que si él se queria volver quel queria seguir la via que llevaba, y ansi lo hizo, y dende á cuatro ó cinco dias descubrió la tierra de Santó Domingo que agora está poblada, e esto fué publico y notorio, que los marineros cuando volvieron, lo decian por cosa muy cierta.

Los demas testigos afirman que todo pasó segun se contiene en la pregunta y fué publico y notorio.

PEDRO ALONSO AMBROSIO añade que Martin Alonso Pinzón se lo dijo asi á este testigo.

“ vij.—*Lo setimo, si saben, etc., que ansi navegaron e el dicho Martin Alonso con sus navios se adelantó del dicho almirante e descubrió la tierra una noche, un dia antes quel dicho almirante se juntase con él ni llegase, el cual dicho Martin Alonso saltó en tierra con los que le seguieron por el amor y debdo que le tenian, y se enseñoreó de la tierra que fué de las indias del mar oceano en las partes que agora estan pobladas, Santo Domingo e las otras islas comarcanas, e adonde desembarcó e comenzó á tomar la lengua de do desembarcó, la tierra se llama agora el Rio de Martin Alonso, e de su cabsa, e por lo que hizo el dicho almirante ganó las dichas islas e allí murieron muchos de sus debdos e amigos del dicho Martin Alonso por enseñorear la tierra.*”

ALONSO VELEZ ALLID.—Oyó decir que se habia apartado en cierta manera Martin Alonso del almirante no sabe este testigo como, e que es verdad que Martin Alonso saltó en tierra de las indias e las descubrió e alcanzó mucha parte de los secretos della e asi es publico e notorio.

PEDRO ALONSO AMBROSIO.—Que tal como se contiene en la pregunta lo oyó á Martin Alonso Pinzón y á los que con él vinieron.

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Los demas repiten que lo oyeron á los que vinieron del viaje de descubrimiento y era publico.

“ viij.—*A la otava, si saben, etc., quel dicho Martin Alonso anduvo por las dichas islas e inquireió e supo el secreto dellas e hizo al dicho almirante que tornasen á estos reinos á dar cuenta á sus Altezas de todo ello e aun el dicho Almirante hovo enojo con el dicho Martin Alonso porque queria descubrir á sus Altezas la verdad e todo el secreto de las dichas islas e de aquella vez vinieron juntos el dicho almirante e el dicho Martin Alonso á la villa de Palos e el dicho Martin Alonso vino muy enfermo de lo mucho que trabajó, y estando de camino para ir á dar cuenta á sus Altezas dello, del mal que traia falleció desta presente vida e quedó el dicho Juan Martin Pinzón, su hijo, por su hijo e heredero, el cual es vivo agora.”*

PEDRO ARIAS.—Sabe la pregunta porque vido que estando Martin Alonso para ir á hacer relacion á sus Altezas y descubrir todo lo que habia hecho e visto, en esta villa de Palos murió del mal que traia, e quedó por su hijo legitimo Juan Martin Pinzon.

ALONSO VELEZ ALLID.—Sabe que vinieron los dos navios, el del almirante y el de Martin Alonso al puerto de Palos e que este llegó muy enfermo, de que murió, y no hubo lugar de ir á dar cuenta á sus Altezas de lo que pasaba, e ansi lo vido este testigo y que sabe que el Almirante y Martin Alonso vinieron muy diferentes á cabsa de los muchos secretos que el dicho Martin Alonso habia alcanzado en las indias para los manifestar á sus Altezas, los cuales por su muerte no hubo lugar de hacer relacion dellos.

Declaran los otros testigos que vieron que Martin Alonso llegó muy enfermo y murió, estando para ir á la Corte.

“ jx.—*A la novena, si saben, etc., que despues de ganadas las dichas islas, el dicho almirante pidió á sus Altezas el quinto de todo ello e cierto Señorío, e por parte de sus Altezas le fué opuesto que por industria e saber e avisos del dicho Martin Alonso se habia descubierto e ganado e no por la del dicho almirante, e que no se le debía, e que por*

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no haber parecido el dicho Martin Alonso para alegar por él e decir la verdad, quedaron sin satisfaccion, porque en verdad, segund es notorio, publica voz e fama e comun opinion, por el aviso e saber e industria y trabajo del dicho Martin Alonso, se descubrieron e ganaron las dichas indias de tierra firme, e que de otra manera no habia cabsa para ello, e digan lo que saben."

PEDRO DE MEDEL.—Sabe, que nunca hobo persona que por Martin Alonso Pinzon dijese á sus Altezas la verdad de lo que pasaba, ni alegase por él porque en la verdad, segund es notorio, por el aviso e saber e grande industria del dicho Martin Alonso Pinzón se descubrieron e ganaron las indias y que de otra manera, por lo que ha dicho, no habria ni hubiera cabsa para se descubrir, e questo es publico e notorio entre todos los que lo saben, cierto e muy verdadero todo lo contenido en la pregunta, e que si de parte del dicho Martin Alonso Pinzón hubiera persona que defendiera la cabsa, no quedara sin remuneracion, como quedo, segund los servicios, que sirvió en lo suso dicho á la Corona real.

DIEGO RODRIGUEZ COLMENERO.—Vido que la reina Doña Isabel mandó un mensajero que fuese Martin Alonso Pinzón ante ella para informar e gratificar e remunerar sus servicios, y quando el mensajero vino era fallescido e no fué, e la Reina rescibió por su fallescimiento mucho enojo.

Los demas que saben la pregunta como en ella se contiene y que es publico y notorio.

"x.—*Iten, si saben que de lo susodicho es publica voz e fama, e seanles fechas las mas preguntas necesarias."*

Todos afirman que es publico.

E ansi tomados y recibidos los dichos testigos en la manera que dicha es, el dicho Juan Martin Pinzón pareció ante el señor juez e pidió testimonio dello, e pues era en forma segund que pedido tiene y el señor Alcalde Mayor se lo mandó dar para guarda e conservacion de su derecho, para que lo presente e pueda presentar donde e como á su derecho convenga, etc., etc.

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No attempt has been made in this work to go very closely into the mystery of the identity of this Cristobal Colón, Christopher Columbus or Christofforus Columbo.

As has been noticed in the early part of it, the *Raccolta Colombiana* sets out to prove that he was born in Genoa, of Italian parents. This is, however, inadmissible. It merely proves that a certain *textor pannorum lane* (a wool-carder), "Dominicus de Columbo *quondam Johannis*," had a son named Christofforus. And, according to the "Acta Notarial" made at Genoa on 22nd September, 1470, by the Notary Jacobo Calvi, the said "Dominicus de Columbo *quondam Johannis et Christofforus, eius filius*" agreed to an arbitration to settle his differences with Jeronimo de Portio.

A perusal of the documentary testimony, extracts of the whole of the voluminous biography and history of this reputed Genovese, enables one to ascertain and affirm that he did not know the Italian language, never wrote in it and never talked it, yet knew the Castilian language on his arrival in Spain from Portugal !

An eminent writer, Prudencio Otero Sanchez, of Pontevedra, in his work already quoted (*España, Patria de Colón*, Madrid, 1922), makes the following piquant comment : " His biographers, even those who passed years and years treating with him with great intimacy, such as the Padre Las Casas, do *not* affirm that—even by accident—a single word or a single exclamation ever escaped from him *in Italian* ! "

As to his one and only recorded oath, his son Fernando (Cap. III) says : " I swear that I never heard him (his father) make any other oath than, ' *Por San Fernando* ! ' and, when most irritated, ' *Os doy a Dios* ! ' as an expletive." An *Italian* not letting off a " *Santo*

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Cristo," "*Cospetto*," "*Corpo di Bacco*," or even a "*Sacramento*," or some such virile exclamation, but, on the other hand, swearing "*Por San Fernando!*"—probably the most Spanish and Castilian of all our interjections!

As to his recorded writings, amongst those extant it may be noticed that the communication made by Colón to "*la Señoría de Genova, el Oficio de San Jorge*," offering one-tenth of his income to diminish the weight of the tax on food in that city, *is written in Spanish!* And in that form it is still preserved in the Municipal Museum of Genoa.

As a continuation of this work on the "*Discovery of America*," I propose to deal with Colón and his origin in another place. One is urged to do so on reading the latest works on the matter by Italian and Spanish authorities.

A recent sustainer of the belief now widely common that Colón was a Spaniard, Riega, affirms (*Colón, Español*, Cap. XIV) that Cristobal Colón was born at Pontevedra in the year 1436 or 1437, and that his parents were Domingo de Colón, surnamed "*El Mozo*," and Susana Fonterosa.

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